/V/

Foreword

114 101 This monograph contains the results of a nine-month investigation which I conducted from October 1955 to June 1956 among two Indian tribes of northwest Brazil which are as yet unknown to science.

121 My journey and the analysis of its results were made possible through the generous support of the Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft /German Research Association/, for which I am deeply indebted to it.

114 I should like cordially to thank my esteemed teacher, Herr Prof. Dr. Franz Termer, for regarding this work, the completion of which he supported actively and in an advisory capacity, worthy of inclusion in the series of reports of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/.

I was encouraged by Herr Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, head of the study division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, to seek out these as yet uninvestigated tribes north of the middle Rio Negro. [122] Through his efforts I also obtained the approval of the Director and was given all possible assistance by this organization founded by Marshal Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, as well as a free flight with a military plane from Rio de Janeiro to Manaus. Hence I feel a sincere desire to express my gratitude to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, especially to Herr Prof. Darcy Ribeiro and the Brazilian Air Force.

122 I thank the University of São Paulo, above all the Dean, Herr Dr. Paulo Sawaya, and the Assistant Dean Herr Prof. Dr. Antonio Soares Amora, for granting me a stipend from June 1954 to September 1955, which made it possible for me to broaden my knowledge of Brazilian ethnology under such outstanding scholars as Herr Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and Herr Prof. Dr. Egon Schaden and to prepare myself thoroughly for the subsequent work in the field. To these two gentlemen I shall remain deeply indebted.

114 Valuable advice which was very useful to me on my expedition was given me by Herr Prof. Dr. med. Henrique da Rocha Lima (†),

/V cont./

114 as well as by Herr Prof. Dr. José Antonio Benton, Herr Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Saake, S.V.D., Herr Harald Schultz and Frau Wilma, all of São Paulo.

I found helpful assistance in Manaus on the part of Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, the head of the I. Inspetoria Regional do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as in the small German colony there on the part of the families of Prof. Dr. Harald Sioli, Kurt Polack, and Gerhard Lindenberg.

122 123 With profound gratitude I mention my kind friends, the Surára and Pakidái Indians, who were so hospitable to me and indefatigably helpful in my work; they are primarily the ones who deserve credit for the successful outcome of the undertaking. [115] Above all the Surára chief Hewemão and his brothers Kurikayawö and Inxinemá, my little interpreter Jibeauwö (see p. 258), and the Pakidái chief Karenauö and the war chief Porẽhiwö deserve special mention here.

I also owe much to my faithful servant, the Tukano /Tucano/ Indian Mateus Dias, a member of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Rio Demini. He was an indispensable helper to me in all emergencies during these nine months.

/VI/ I am likewise very much indebted, however, to the Brazilian country people on the Rio Negro and on the Demini and Aracá rivers, as well as to the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini and the mission station of the Salesians in Barcelos. No matter where I went, I was shown such hospitality as is scarcely imaginable. Mention should be made here above all of the Spanish planter, Manuel Antonio Gómez, of the Rio Aracá, and the German nun, Klara Jakob, of the Salesian mission in Barcelos, who devotedly nursed me during my attacks of malaria. Equal thanks are due the physicians and sisters in the Hospital de Isolamento "Emilio Ribas" in São Paulo, where, after my return, I was treated without charge for two months and cured of a serious liver infection.

114 122 I thank Herr Dr. Koch and Herr Müller of the Bayer branch in Rio de Janeiro for the medicines they donated. This made it possible for me to help many sick Indians and caboclos and to alleviate my own sufferings.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/4 cont./

648 agencies, so to speak, in the primeval forest. It is also one of the duties of the personnel, however, to lay out plantations for their own living, where they grow manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, bananas, mamão /papaya/, beans, tobacco, sugar cane, etc. In addition, they hunt and fish.

Since living conditions are more favorable on the Aracá and the work of the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) is more remunerative than that of the rubber gatherers, the population here is four times as large as on the Demini. The region of the Indians begins at the Cachoeira dos Indios (Ills. 2 and 3). There is not as yet, however, any Indian protection post on the Rio Aracá.

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● 114 III. The Ethnic Affiliation of the Surára and Pakidái

As early as the beginning of the previous century important investigators, among them Alexander von Humboldt, Robert Schomburgk, Jean Chaffanjon, and Theodor Koch-Grünberg, undertook ethnographic and in part linguistic studies in the northern and western part of the area between Rio Branco, Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro among a few groups of the Xiriána /Shiriana/ (5b) and Waiká /Waica/, which were broadened and deepened by Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster in 1954/55, especially with regard to the Waiká (6a) (Waika) in the catchment [797] area of the upper Orinoco (6b). Their work was supported by North American missionaries who have been in touch with the

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[104] 5b. X is pronounced like sch /in German/.

[194] 6a. When the Surára and Pakidái pronounce the tribal name of the Waiká, their worst enemies, they always accent the final a.

6b. Zerries, 1956a.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/5 cont./

114
[997]

aforementioned Indians for several years and used this opportunity to carry on their own ethnological investigations (7a, b). More-

7a. Barker, 1953.

7b. Finney, 1957.

over one should mention the Italian, Alfonso Vinci, who lived in southern Venezuela in 1953-1955 and there met Xiriána and Waiká groups (8).

8. Vinci, 1956.

On the subject of contacts with natives in the interior of that vast area between Rio Branco and Serra Parima, which Coudreau regarded as virtually unpeopled (9), that is, according to his view,

9. Coudreau, H. A., 1887, p. 255.

only west of the Rio Branco, between the lower Mucajaí and the lower Catrimani, did there live a few Indian groups "*mal connus et redoutés*" known as evil and feared/ (10), Georges Salathé

10. Coudreau, H. A., 1887, p. 247 and Map V.

and Donald Holdridge alone have reported as yet (11). The

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11. The area between Rio Branco, Rio Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro, as well as the region east of the Rio Branco, have for a long time been regarded as dangerous because, as Alexander von Humboldt and Robert Schomburgk have already reported, several of the tribes living there are supposed to have a very

Surára
Karime

/5 cont./

114
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11. (cont.)
hostile attitude toward the whites as well as toward neighboring Indians. Since the rubber gatherers, palm-fiber gatherers, etc. on the Demini, Aracá, and the other rivers usually do not advance beyond the middle course, to say nothing of visiting the regions away from the rivers, the Indians only rarely feel disturbed in their territory. The incidents mentioned below, however, which have taken place there within the last 30 years, confirm that hostility on the part of a *few tribes continues* and may at any time lead to new acts of violence:

1928: Surára Indians, in an attack on a settlement of palm-fiber gatherers on the Rio Aracá, abducted two white women and a girl.

1942: Jaú Indians shot at the Brazilian-Venezuelan border commission on the upper Demini and forced it to turn back; two members of the commission were seriously wounded by arrow shots.

1945: Five American officers were killed by arrow shots by the Aimirí Indians on the Rio Jauaperi. They had gone up the river in a motor boat in order to take motion pictures of Indians there. The Brazilian guide, who was the only one to escape, later said that the Indians disliked the whirring of the camera and had several times urged the Americans to go back.

1946: The Aimirí Indians attacked the Indian protection post on the Rio Jauaperi and killed ten men of the personnel.

114 former, with regard to the Karimé Indians living on the upper course of the Catrimani, gives a brief sketch of their material

Karime
Shiriana
Waica

/5 cont./

114 culture, along with a word list (12), while the latter describes his

12. Salathé, 1931/32.

visits in the Xiriána (Shiriana) and Waiká (Uaika) maloka which were still on the Demini, or rather a branch, in 1932 (13).

13. Holdridge, 1933.

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On the basis of a perusal of the research reports of Zerries (14) (15)

14. Zerries, 1956a.

15. Zerries, 1956b.

and Schuster (16), as well as comparisons with ethnographic data

16. Schuster, 1958a.

and word lists which Salathé gathered among the Karimé (17),

17. Salathé, 1931/32.

Vinci among the Shiriana, Waika, and Samatari (18), and

18. Vinci, 1956.

Koch-Grünberg among the /6/ Xiriána (Schirianá) groups, which he describes as linguistically isolated, and a few Waiká (Waíka) (19) (20),

19. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 454-456; 1923a, pp. 284 ff.

20. Koch-Grünberg, 1928, pp. 302-308.

it was possible to determine that the societies investigated belong to a relatively uniform culture group and even linguistically differ

Surára,
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

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[127]
[197]

/6 cont./

from each other only slightly in dialectal deviations (see the appendix /see 3: Rodrigues, this file/) (21). How great their homogeneity is may be seen by the fact that the Surára and Pakidái call themselves Yanonámi and the Waiká and Xiriána, according to Zerries and Schuster, call themselves Yanoáma (22) (23).

However, members of the Aramamesterí, Karauaterí, Puseheweterí, and even of the Xiriána, whom I met in the *malokas* of the Surára and Pakidái as wives, visitors, and captives, said that they were Yanonámi. Furthermore, the Surára chief Hewemão enumerated for me 42 more tribes between Catrimani and Rio Negro (24), friendly and hostile, pointing out that these must likewise be included.

In view of this and on the basis of the linguistic and cultural relationship, it would seem to be appropriate to adopt into South American ethnology Yanonámi or Yanoáma as a new designation for the linguistic and culture group made up of these small-sized and light-colored Indians of the northern Amazon. According to the investigations up to now, they occupy a relatively compact area which is bounded in the east and south by the Rio Branco and the Rio Negro, respectively, but in the north and west extends

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21. Loukotka and Rivet already established the relationship of a few of these languages and grouped them under the general term "Širianá linguistic family," in which they include Širianá, Karimé, Waíka, and Pusárakaú. (Loukotka, 1942, pp. 8/9; Rivet et Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140).

22. Zerries, 1956a, p. 187.

23. Schuster, 1958a, pp. 115/16.

24. Becher, 1956.

/6 cont./

101 beyond the Uraricuera and the Parima range, respectively.

●114 There can no longer be any doubt about the ethnic affiliation of this population. Koch-Grünberg was already of the opinion that in the case of the Xiriána (Schirianá) and Waiká (Waíka) "it is not a matter of two different tribes, but merely of two divisions of one large nation" (25) (26). At the same place, however, the investigator expresses the conjecture, which was confirmed by the opinions of neighboring tribes, that the Waiká represent merely a subdivision of the Xiriána, "with whom they live either peaceably or in bitter enmity" (25) (26) /see the footnotes above/. Their isolation from other tribes is, according to Ourique, "an example of the instinctive precaution of the race against its own deterioration and its downfall" (27).

101 In this connection there is a significant hint by the Surára chief,
619 according to which there are two powerful tribes within the
[115] "Yanonámi nation" first the Xiriána, who call themselves
"Hararerí," and secondly the Waiká, who, however, are constantly warring. All the smaller tribes are on the side of either
one or the other, but at the same time are obliged to pay tribute
[438] and render service in war (28). The Surára and Pakidái, the chief told me further, are allies of the Xiriána and occasionally

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25. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 224.

26. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 290.

27. Ourique, 1906, p. 24.

[114] 28. With regard to the Xiriána, Koch-Grünberg already mentions this vassal relationship (Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 226), and Métraux also refers to it (Métraux, 1948, p. 861).

Surára
Pakidái

101 /*6 cont.*/

[illegible] obtain by barter clay vessels, clay plates, bows, arrows, hammocks, baskets, belts, and upper-arm ornaments (29).

[45[illegible]]

[323]
[411]
[362]

29. Pottery is not practiced at all by the Surára and Pakidái, and their self-made bows, arrows, hammocks, etc. are inferior in quality to those of the Xirixána.

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IV. Historical Data

At the present time, in the winter months (rainy season), April-September, the Surára live at the Cachoeira dos Índios (Ill. 2 and 3), on the upper Rio Aracá, and the Pakidái in Taraquá, on a right branch of the middle Demini. The summer months (dry season), October-March, on the other hand, the two tribes spend together in a large, open *maloka*, which belongs to the Surára, in the virgin forest region between the Demini and Aracá rivers. This *maloka* lies 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco.

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Koch-Grünberg, on his map accompanying the work *Vom Roroíma zum Orinoco* /From the Roroíma to the Orinoco/, showed neither the Rio Demini nor the Rio Aracá and designates this region as "unknown territory." In his text he also says, "the entire large area between Rio Negro, Rio Branco and Uraricuéra is unexplored to this day" (30). Baldus likewise points out that in this area

30. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 287.

"surprises still await the seeker of unknown tribes" (31).

31. Baldus, 1956a, p. 294.

/7 cont./

●114 Demini and Aracá were first introduced into the literature by
103 João Barbosa Rodrigues, although he did not write Demini, but rather Demeune (32), and the Rio Aracá was called Uaraca by him (33).

32. On maps of that period one likewise finds the entry Demeney.

33. Rodrigues, 1885, pp. 136, 148.

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184 With regard to the name Demini, it may be assumed that the
103 ending "ini," according to the linguistic studies of Koch-Grünberg (34a), is derived from the Aruak /Arawak/ word "eni" =

34a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 15.

172 river, water. This assumption is confirmed by many very old
323 finds of shards which I discovered on the entirely unpopulated terra firma on the riverine lakes of the Demini. They are yellowish gray shards, which are decorated with spiral lines, meanders, and other plaiting designs and resemble the earthenware vessels which Koch-Grünberg described for the Aruak tribes (34b).

34b. Koch-Grünberg, 1910a, pp. 227/28 and Ills. 152-155.

The fact that I found only shards is undoubtedly linked with the custom of the Aruak described by Koch-Grünberg, according to which all the clay vessels that belonged to a deceased person must be broken to pieces, for otherwise the spirit of the dead would punish the greed of the relatives (35).

35. Koch-Grünberg, 1910a, p. 151.

This would also confirm the surmise of Koch-Grünberg that at one time Aruak tribes coming from the west and southwest penetrated into the region between Rio Branco and Orinoco, which was

Shiriana

/7 cont./

114 inhabited by an old population living in a wholly primitive state.
174 The Aruak were said to have been subjugated later by the Karaíben /Carib/, who, in turn, met powerful resistance on the part of the warlike Xiriâna and Waiká (36). Elsewhere the same

36. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, pp. 15/16.

investigator writes: "On the Merewari and upper Orinoco Karaíben live together with Arowaken, whereas the upper Uraricuéra and the Parima Range are entirely in the hands of the allophylian Schirianá and Waíka" (37). I, too, met neither Karaíben nor

37. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 233.

Aruak tribes in the Demini-Aracá region.

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174 On a tribal map of that region drawn by Nimuendajú (38),

38. This map is in the possession of the scientific division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Rio de Janeiro.

Xiriâna are given as the inhabitants of the Rio Demini, along with the date 1874. Rodrigues also reports that at the end of the nineteenth century members of this tribe lived both along the banks of that stream and along its tributaries, the Cuieiras and Mamimêu; from there they extended their roving expeditions as far as the Catrimani (39).

39. Rodrigues, 1885, p. 136.

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[131] /8/ Today only one civilized Xiriâna family is living on the lower Demini as planters, but it no longer has any connection at all with its original, living fellow-tribesmen. This family, whose members speak Portuguese exclusively, told me that the region of the Demini has been the land of the Xiriâna from olden times. On account of frequent attacks on the part of the Waiká,

/8 cont./
173 however, they had withdrawn into regions remote from the river.
115 Their last maloka on the Demini was taken over by a Waiká tribe
in 1934. This is the place where today the Indian protection post
[648] "Ajuricaba" is located, on the right bank of the middle Demini,
080 just below the Cachoeira Auatsinaua (40) (41). In 1939, the

● [114] 40. Holdridge visited the Xiriâna here in 1932. (Holdridge, 1933, p. 380.)

114 174 101 41. According to information which Nimuendajú obtained in Manaus in 1927 from a man named Domingos Campos, Aruak-speaking Indians on the Demini were supposed to have been called Xiriâna (Nimuendajú, 1955, pp. 150/51). This brings up all kinds of questions which are yet to be solved. Thus, there could have been an Aruak tribe of this name, for the shards which I found on the Demini, as well as the name of this river, indicate that members of that linguistic group once lived here. It might also be possible, however, that Aruak groups, after their subjugation by the Xiriâna, became assimilated with the latter. On the other hand, it is not impossible that individual Xiriâna adopted the Aruak language, and finally there still remains open the surmise that the Indians mentioned by Domingos Campos are not identical with the actual Xiriâna, but were merely called that by the caboclo population.

In the literature, the two tribal designations "Xiriâna" (members of the Aruak linguistic family) and "Xirianá" (independent linguistic family) (Loukotka, 1942,

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/8 cont./

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101 41. (cont.)

pp. 8, 24, 52; Ribeiro, 1957, p. 99) have already become current. Nevertheless, I incline to the view that in the case of the Xiriána it is a matter of one and the same large, widely scattered Yanonámi tribe. The material and spiritual culture of the Xiriána with whom the Surára and Pakidái are allied (the latter and the Xiriána whom I met among them themselves regularly accent the first a) corresponds perfectly with the one that Koch-Grünberg calls "Schirianá." The latter points out in one work that "Schirianá" is their self-designation, while "Schirischána" is a name which their neighbors and mortal enemies, the "Maquiritáres," gave them (Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 454). It should also be mentioned that the designation "Shrirana," according to Vinci, is a Makuxí /Macusi/ word (Vinci, 1956, p. 107).

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648 In 1939, The Waiká, too, gave up this maloka and moved to the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini. Here, at the beginning of the year 1956, at the time of my stay among the Surára, they were attacked by a Xiriána tribe and destroyed. Surára warriors told me that all the Waiká men were killed and the women and girls were taken captives.

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114 As inhabitants of the Rio Aracá, Nimuendajú entered on the above-mentioned map of this region (see p. 16), with the date of 1874, the Bahuana, an Aruak tribe. With reference to this, the Surára chief remarked that this tribe also goes by the proper name of Pootarí and was an enemy of the Surára, Pakidái, Xiriána, etc.; at the present time it lives in the source region of the Aracá.

Surára
Pakidái

/9 cont./

● 114 178 181 648 This shows that nothing has changed since 1948, when Métraux, following the accounts of Koch-Grünberg and other investigators traveling through this region, quite justifiably wrote: "The Shirianá are very warlike people who succeeded in dominating several weaker tribes" /cited in English/ (42).

141 V. Physical Characteristics

With regard to physical characteristics, the Surára and Pakidái are identical. Their height is below average, for the men are only 1.50-1.60 meters tall and the women 1.40-1.50 meters. 142 [291] Both sexes have soft but muscular body forms, yet frequently a protruding abdomen and often relatively thin legs. Since they always go barefoot, their feet have retained the ability to serve as prehensile organs for climbing tree trunks, and their toes are not squeezed together as much as in the case of civilized persons who wear shoes all the time. The considerable gap between the great toe and the second toe is striking (Ill. 14) (43). The color of their skin is very light, almost white. The forehead of the dolicocephalic head is often flat. Their broad noses with the nostrils directed slightly upward are noteworthy; the root of the nose, on the other hand, is narrow. The Mongoloid strain is clearly evident in the prominent cheekbones and the slanting, dark-brown, almost black-looking eyes. Between the slightly

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42. Métraux, 1948, p. 861.

43. Crevaux has already pointed this out in connection with the Oyampí Indians in French Guiana: "The great toe, very much set apart, always turns inward, while the third, fourth, and fifth are turned outward" /translated from the French/ (Crevaux, 1880, p. 76 and ill., left).

Surára
Pakidái
Waica
Shiriana

/9 cont./

142 pouting lips of a mouth that is never too large, there are always two gleaming rows of sound teeth. Their beautiful, always straight hair is a very dark brown. They all have a thick head of hair, but lose it in old age. No bald spot appears, however; the hair then simply looks as though it had been cut very short all over the head. Individual men have a thin growth of beard on [302] either side of the lips and on the chin; occasionally they pluck out the beard hair. The rest of their body hair is limited to the pubic region. Women pluck out their pubic hair, as well as their eyebrows and lashes. Young girls usually have well-formed, hemispherical, firm breasts, which, however, become slack and pendulous after the first child, although at that time the women have often not even reached the age of 18 or 19 years old.

● 114 142 These observations parallel the descriptions which Alexander von Humboldt gives of the Waiká (Guaicas) and Guaharibo. He also describes them as tribes "with whitish skin color and very small stature." He adds, however, "the shortness of the Guaicas and the whiteness of the Guaharibos, /10/ whom P. Caulín calls [141] Guaharibos blancos, are equally exaggerated" (44). The Guaicas measured by Alexander von Humboldt were "on the average four feet seven inches to four feet eight inches (according to the old French measurement)" (44) /see footnote above/, in other words, about 1.52-1.55 meters. Koch-Grünberg gives the same body height for the Waiká (Waika) whom he met in Motomotó on the Uraricuera and whom he likewise describes as very light-skinned (45). In [141] another place Koch-Grünberg writes: "The Schirianá and Waika of Motomotó were small people, on the average about 1.52 meters tall. In no case did the height exceed 1.55 meters... Older people had distended abdomens and thin legs... These people, who were by nature ugly almost throughout, were even more

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44. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, pp. 113 ff.

45. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 293.

Surára
Pakidái
Waica
Shiriana

/10 cont./

114 142 repellent because of the lack of any kind of body care" (46).

46. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 304.

Chaffanjon expressed himself in a similar manner, but even more disapprovingly, with regard to the Guaharibos: "Small and puny, thin limbs, a stomach enormously distended, hair long and dirty, a bestial countenance make them look repulsive.
[291] They are absolutely naked; two men have a long and scraggly
[411] beard; their complexion is lighter than that of all the Indians whom I have thus far mentioned; their only weapon is a stick"
114 141 /translated from the French/ (47). Finally, it should be mentioned that, of approximately 40 adult Waiká, Zerries established an average figure of 151.5 centimeters for men and 142 centimeters for women (48a).

47. Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 308-311.

48a. Zerries, 1956a, p. 186.

114 142 Comparisons show that the Surára and Pakidái have the same physical characteristics as the Guaharibo, Xiriána, and Waiká (48b).

48b. Only recently there appeared a work by the same author, "Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Waika- und Schiriana-Indianer im Grenzgebiet zwischen Venezuela und Brasilien /Contributions to the Anthropology of the Waica and Schiriana Indians in the Border Region Between Venezuela and Brazil/," which is supplemented by excellent illustrative material (Zerries, 1959, pp. 31-41).

It is therefore astonishing that Chaffanjon and Koch-Grünberg describe the Indians that they studied as so strikingly ugly. It

Surára
Pakidái

/10 cont./

● 114 142 is true, the related Surára and Pakidái, as well as the Waiká in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco, embody a type that is strange to us (see Ills. 9-24 /see pp. 270-274/ and ills. in Zerries, 1959), but certainly not one that is repulsive to that extent.

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VI. Technology and Material Culture

1. House Forms

The Surára and Pakidái are familiar with four different house-forms. The simplest and probably the earliest form, which at present, however, is used only as overnight quarters by one family during the expeditions in the virgin forest, is similar to a wind-screen /Windschirm/ (Ill. 4). It is built in the following way: In front, one or two supports, 2-2.50 meters long, are set into the ground at intervals as long as a hammock; about three meters behind these there are two weaker supports, 1-1.50 meters long, at somewhat longer intervals. The upper ends are joined together with poles; cipó-titca (a type of liana) serves as lashing material. The poles are also frequently tied to trees standing a short distance apart, instead of the rear supports. Over this 12 to 15 thinner poles are placed crosswise, and on top of these four to six are placed lengthwise. This results in a more or less steep framework which has the shape of a lean-to roof (Ill. 4). [824] Palm leaves are laid on this so that the hut gives secure protection against the rain; even the most severe tropical thunderstorms cannot [352] [354] harm the Indians sleeping under it. The hammocks are fastened in the form of a triangle around the fire burning in the center; In the case of larger families, two hammocks often hang one above the other.

361 /11/ If the entire tribe is on the march, the huts of the individual families are always placed in a circle around the chief's hut standing in the center, after the virgin forest has been hastily cleared to a certain extent beforehand. The space between the huts is five to eight meters.

Surára
Pakidái

/11 cont./

342 Exactly the same construction is shown by Salathé for the
114 Karimé (49), Zerries for the Waiká (50), and Koch-Grünberg for
184) the Xiriána (Schirianá) on the upper Uraricapará; the latter,
however, calls the lean-to type of hut a storm-shelter
/Wetterschirm/ (51). This name is not suitable, however, for a
genuine storm-shelter, also called windscreen, touches the ground
on one side. In the method of construction described and likewise
in Koch-Grünberg's drawings, however, the roof rests on supports
everywhere. The circular arrangement of the huts is also men-
361 tioned in Koch-Grünberg. In this connection the scholar expresses
114 the opinion that this is only a temporary camp (52), which I am
now able to confirm with respect to the Surára and Pakidái. On
the other hand, Koch-Grünberg, Salathé, and Zerries say nothing
about a hut standing in the center. Among the Surára and Pakidái,
however, this is never absent. The reason for it, these Indians
[622] told me, was to protect the chief sleeping in it from hostile
attacks. Moreover, two warriors must always guard the camp at
night.

361 Along the routes of travel of the Surára and Pakidái in the area
between the Demini and Aracá rivers, one finds many such
abandoned camps. They are never occupied a second time as
overnight quarters, however, although the construction is often

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49. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 298-300 and Fig. 1 and 2.

50. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

51. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Pl. 43 b and c.

52. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Plate 43 a.

Surara
Pakidai

/15 cont./

342 large posts. On each of the two narrow sides of the three tall middle posts, 11 thin sticks are attached, organ-fashion, between the supported horizontal poles and form the two gable faces.
[824] Here, too, cipó-titica is used exclusively as the lashing material. To the right on the front broad-side and to the left on the rear one there is a small entrance only one meter high and one meter wide. After the framework is completed (Ill. 8), the panos (rectangular mats made out of the leaves of the ubim palm) are again laid over one another on the roof, like shingles, and fastened to the rafters. It is the same technique as has already been described in the construction of the large, open maloka. The upper part of the two gable sides is left open so that light may penetrate into the interior of the house and the smoke be carried off. The walls, too, are completely covered with panos, and in front of the entrances palm-leaf mats that can be drawn back are hung by means of lianas. Inside the house, the center part is left free for holding festivals and dances, while the families, in the same way as in the open maloka, live comparatively close to the wall, one
[622] family beside the other. For the chief and his family a particularly large space is reserved on the side toward the river.

342 The astonishing fact in this form of house is that the ground
171 plan is circular whereas the roof is gable-shaped. Ordinarily for
● 114 houses with a circular ground-plan, the conical roof is characteristic, as Olga Coudreau (54) and Koch-Grünberg (55) have shown for Karaiben /Carib/ tribes. In this case, one or at most two center posts are used. Koch-Grünberg also mentions, to be sure, a construction with three and writes: "If the two center posts are set farther apart or if, instead of two center posts, three or more are used, /16/ the ridge is lengthened and the circular ground-plan gradually becomes an elliptical one" (56).

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54. Olga Courdreau, 1903, p. 121.

55. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 18 and Pl. 2 (1a, 1b, 2a, 2b).

56. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22 and Pl. 2 (4).

Surára
Pakidái

/16 cont./

342 In the building method described by me, however, the
174 circular ground-plan is retained, in spite of the three center posts.
177 According to Koch-Grünberg, the gable roofs and huts with elliptical
ground-plan and others of a square shape owe "their origin obvi-
●[114] ously to European influence" (57). On this point I am in complete agreement with the above-mentioned investigator and therefore believe that this maloka built by the Surára, which they modeled after the community house of the Xiriána, actually developed from the Karaiben conical-roofed hut, while the roof represents a borrowing from the civilized world (palm-straw huts of the caboclos). This is also indicated by the construction
of the chief's hut within the periphery of the large, open maloka,
[184] which likewise has a gable roof (see p. 29). It is noteworthy,
however, that the maloka of the Surára has a height of ten
meters, while the round huts mentioned by Koch-Grünberg show
342 825 a height between 4.20-5.57 meters (58). My question as to why the Surára in the sierra occupy an open maloka and on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá a closed one was answered to the effect that in the higher, cooler region between Demini and Aracá there are practically no mosquitoes, whereas there are relatively many along the riverbank of the Aracá. This explanation is very plausible, for in the closed community-houses of the Indians there are no gnats. They avoid the semidarkness and the smoke of the constantly burning fire.

2. Bridges

501 Boats are not used by the Surára and Pakidái. When, on
484 their narrow forest paths which are scarcely discernible to our
491 eyes, they come to brooks, they simply wade across. In the
case of wider brooks which are greatly swollen during the rainy

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57. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22.

58. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 21.

Surára
Pakidái

/16 cont./

484 season, or in case their banks are steep, a tree trunk is simply
491 laid across as a footbridge. To cross small rivers, for example,
the Rio Deminisinho, a left tributary of the upper Aracá which
empties into it one kilometer beyond the Cachoeira dos Índios,
the Surára even use a regular bridge. The Rio Deminisinho is 38
meters wide at the place where it is crossed, and on either side
499 there are steep banks eight meters high. The bridge, which was
built here during the summer, when the riverbed was relatively
shallow, consists of 12 crossed tree-trunks 12-14 meters long,
which were rammed into the riverbed. Over the places where
they crossed, two thinner trunks were laid next to each other and
fastened with liana lashings. At the projecting ends of the supporting posts, lianas form a sort of railing. Since they hang very
loosely, however, they can scarcely offer a grip. To secure the
bridge, both ends have been additionally anchored to thick trees
by means of lianas. Because of this, the construction looks like
a hanging bridge at first glance. Since it is one meter higher
than the banks, however, small rung-ladders 60 centimeters wide
are attached at either side and fastened with liana lashings.

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491 While I always had to fight with great difficulty to keep my
balance in crossing this and other tree-trunk bridges, the Indians,
[481] men, women, and children, always strode across effortlessly,
even when they were carrying a great deal of baggage. This may
be connected with the fact that they hardly place their feet outward at all, so that one might almost believe them parallel (Ill.
17) (59).

•[114]
[141]
59. There are similar accounts by Crevaux with regard to the Oiana /Oyana/ (Rukuien /Rucuyen/, Roucouyennes). The investigator sought the reasons for this and believed he found them in the pelvis. The white women, too, he said, more than the men, walk with their feet placed inward, because their pelvis is wider. On account of the foot position, he concludes that the Indians also have a wider pelvis (Crevaux, 1875, p. 255).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Samatari

/17 cont./
411 barter. For smoothing, they use the inner edge of the eye-tooth
412 from the lower jaw of a wild pig and the rough leaves of the
322 curatella (Cecropia peltata), which gives the bow a beautiful,
237 shiny appearance.

824 The bowstring -- penahitábe --, which consists of three
411 strands of curauá (Bromeliaceae) fiber strings twisted to the right,
283 is fastened to the bow ends with a simple knot. If one wants to
tighten up the bow, the string must be twisted more, which makes
it shorter.

411 The bow described may be immediately classified as one of
191 the typical bow-forms of Guiana, which Métraux characterizes as
114 follows: "Guiana bows were generally convex on the belly while
the back or outer surface was concave or flat" /cited in English/ (66). According to Meyer's classification, on account of its semicircular cross-section, it would /18/ belong to the North Brazilian bow-type; on the basis of the material, however, to the Peru group, because it is not the reddish-brown, smooth leguminous wood, but that of the pupunha palm (67). P. Schmidt also devotes a rather long section to this "reverse form of the flat bow" and already lists the following tribes north of the Amazonas where it occurs: "Kanamare on the Rio Jurua, Trio, Ojana, Makusi, Wapisiana, Uaupe, Porokoto, Passe (child's bow), Siriana on the Rio /Fig. 2 appears here./ /19/ Uraricapara,
411 Motomoto" (68). On the basis of the descriptions and illustrations
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114 of the Xiriána bow which Koch-Grünberg gives (69), it is

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66. Métraux, 1949, p. 232.

67. Meyer, no date, p. 31.

68. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1030.

69. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311 and
Pl. 47 (1 and 2a, b, c, d).

[Text Continues on P. 39]

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Samatari

/19 cont./

411 184 •114 [173] almost identical with that of the Surára and Pakidái, except for the fact that the former is set off at the ends. This confirms the statements made by the Indians investigated by me who said that they obtained bows of this kind and the knowledge of how to make them themselves from the Xiriána. In reply to my question as to why their bows were not set off at the end, I was told that the Xiriána demand this deviation. In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/, there are two Xiriána bows which were collected by Koch-Grünberg (12. 25:29, 12. 25:31). They are relatively small specimens, however, for they are only 1. 92 and 1. 82 meters high, respectively. A bow which came from the Xamatári of the Rio Maiá, a left tributary of the Rio Cauaboris, and which is also in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56. 15:4) and is two meters high, has exactly the same shape as the Surára and Pakidái one, that is, without the offset ends. This is not surprising, for, according to the statement of the Surára chief Hewemão, the Xamatári are likewise satellites of the Xiriána (see p. 12). Finally, it should be mentioned that the same bow-form has also been documented for the Waiká in Venezuela (70).

70. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

411 249 824 The arrows -- xeréka --, whose total length comes to between 2-2. 12 meters (shaft length 1. 89-1. 94 meters; weight, 60-90 grams) (71) (72), are made out of arrow cane -- xerekaîbe --

[114] 71. These measurements confirm Weule's statement when he says that the arrow must correspond in length, shape, and weight to the bow, in order to guarantee a certain accuracy of aim (Weule, 1899, p. 6).

72. Pertinent comparisons with other South American tribes are to be found in the chart by Ranke (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Samatari

/19 cont./

411 which the Surára and Pakidái plant in the vicinity of their malokas
[249] on the upper Aracá and the middle Demini, respectively. All five
[824] of the arrow types used by them have the same feathering --
[237] jaromahîk --, which consists of two halves of the black wing feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.) -- parurí. They are placed against the cane in such a way that they alternately show the upper and the
[283] lower side of the feather. At several places on the hand end they are held by two threads of the tight winding of Bromelia fibers -- pemakasiurakama. Inside this winding, which is supposed to strengthen the weak cane against the pressure of the bowstring, there is stuck on the end of the cane in addition a small wooden peg fastened with resin, which has a notch in its thickened outer part, which is set on the bowstring. This is supposed to prevent the cane from splitting when the arrow flies off. The upper end of the feather shaft is wound with a second, narrower winding, in which, between the two halves of the arrow feathers, two additional small black mutum feathers are frequently stuck as ornaments (Fig. 2f).

411 The feathering described belongs to the Guiana type of
184 feathering, according to the classification by Meyer (73). Koch-Grünberg (74) confirms it for the Xiriána, and it can also be recognized on the arrows which that investigator brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:33-42). The arrows in the Alfred Boeldecke Collection (56.15:5-7) in the same museum and the drawings by Vinci (75) show that the Xamatári likewise use this
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73. Meyer, no date, p. 9.

74. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (4, 7, 8).

75. Vinci, 1956, p. 146, Fig. a.

Surára
Pakidái,
Samatari
Karime

/19 cont./

411 feathering, and, according to Salathé, it is also to be found
184 among the Karimé (76).
● 114

76. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Figs. 3 and 4.

411 There is an astonishingly wide range of variation for the arrow points, of which the following five different types occur among the Surára and Pakidái:

1. Kantaná -- It is a wide, lancet-shaped bamboo point, 25-28 centimeters long, both /20/ ends of which come to a point; the [531] width in the center is 3-4 centimeters. The upper side is rounded off, and the lower one, occasionally somewhat hollowed out, is [283] sometimes painted with black dots. It is inserted in the slightly split arrow shaft and tightly wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2a). Since the arrows with this large point have particularly great penetrating power, they are used chiefly for the hunting of tapirs and jaguars; moreover, they are used for warlike encounters. Every Surára and Pakidái man always carries two or three such reserve points in his quiver.

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114 Salathé found similar points among the Karimé (77) and

77. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 299/300 and Fig. 3b.

Vinci among the Xamatári (78). Moreover, they are confirmed

78. Vinci, 1956, pp. 145 and 146, Fig. b.

for the latter Indians by a specimen in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte. (Alfred Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:5. Length, 23 centimeters; width in the center, three [531] centimeters. On the lower hollowed-out side, this point is painted with a black, serpentine line.)

Shiriana
Surára
Pakidai

/20 cont./

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[283] The lancet-shaped bamboo points of the Xiriãna investigated by Koch-Grünberg, on the other hand, have a somewhat different shape. Here the two ends do not come to a point, as among the Surãra, Pakidãi, Karimẽ, and Xamatãri, but rather one end is thickened, hollowed out, and, wound with Bromelia fibers, is set on a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (79). Three such Xiriana arrow points of the Koch-Grünberg Collection in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte have, moreover, the respectable length of 34 centimeters (12.25:37) and 35 centimeters (12.25:34-35).

Inasmuch as the Surãra and Pakidãi, according to their own statements, borrowed their lancet-shaped bamboo points from the Xiriãna, the ensuing alteration process is quite significant, since, indeed, the point is no longer mounted on a wooden shaft, but is inserted directly into the arrow cane.

Furthermore, lancet-shaped bamboo points have been confirmed for the Waikã by Zerries (80) and Schuster (81), but it is not clear from their texts whether this is the same type as that of the Surãra, Pakidãi, etc. or that of the Xiriãna.

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171 How greatly the lengths and attachment possibilities of such bamboo points vary among South American Indians is very clearly shown by the comprehensive investigations of Meyer (82) and

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79. Koch-Grünberg 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (5, 8).

80. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

81. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

82. Meyer, no date, pp. 18, 19, 25, 27, 30, 36, 37, 47, 48, 49, and Plates I, 11, 13; II, 16; III, 14; IV, 8, 15.

Surára
Pakidái

/20 cont./
411 [171] Métraux (83).

[283 824] 2. Rahaká -- This is a narrower lancet-shaped bamboo point which is inserted in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers in the same way as the kantaná (Fig. 2b). The individual points are 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5 - 2 centimeters wide in the middle. Wild pigs, water hogs (capybara), deer, pacas, and cutias (see p. 4) are killed with them. It is noteworthy that such narrow bamboo points have hitherto not been mentioned in the literature.

237 [283 314] 3. Kantarím -- Point with barb, made from a twin-pointed piece of bone from the cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.). This is lashed, by means of a winding of Bromelia fibers additionally coated with pitch, parallel to the upper end of a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (Fig. 2c). With this arrow tip, which is very widespread in South America, the Surára and Pakidái shoot birds and fish.

411 414 [171] According to the classification by Métraux, it belongs to the second principal type of arrow points occurring in the tropical forest region of South America (84). Meyer mentions that it is used in Guiana, but also in western Brazil and among the Karajá [184] /Caraja/ (85). Within the Yanoámi group, they have furthermore been documented for the Xiriána (86), Karimé (87), Xamatári (88),

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83. Métraux, 1949, pp. 236/37 and Fig. 64.

84. Métraux, 1949, p. 237.

85. Meyer, no date, p. 18.

86. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (7).

87. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Fig. 3c.

88. Vinci, 1956, pp. 144 and 146, Fig. c.

Surára, Pakidái

/20 cont./

411 114 184 and Waiká (89) (90). In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde

89. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

90. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

und Vorgeschichte, there are, /21/ moreover, three Xiriâna arrows with this point (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:39-41) and an arrow from the Xamatári (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:6).

411 [824] 4. Ranaká -- Forked wooden point of a bird arrow; length, 12-15 centimeters. The material is furnished by a tree -- paioórimá -- which shows countless such forkings. The lower part of the stem is pointed and is set in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2e). Thus far there is a parallel for this arrow point only among the Waiká (91a).

91a. Barker, 1953, p. 464.

5. Unamú -- Wooden arrow-point with a coating of poison. A thin, pointed rod of the hard wood of the pupunha palm, 22-24 centimeters long, is coated with arrow poison, giving it a black appearance. The rear end is inserted in the arrow cane wound with [224] Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2d). Such poisoned arrows are used exclusively for hunting monkeys, since these animals living in the tall trees are otherwise difficult to kill. According to the statements of Surára and Pakidái informants, they never shoot poisoned arrows at human beings.

411 184 Other Yanonámi tribes who likewise use poisoned arrows are the Xiriána (91b), Karimé (92), and Waiká (93) (94). Moreover,

91b. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 312.

92. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 301 and Fig. 5a.

93. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

94. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

Suráíra
Pakidái

/21 cont./

411 184 there is a Xamatári poisoned arrow in the possession of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56. 15:7).

411 171 ● 114 [439] Métraux writes with reference to the poisoned arrows: "Poisoned arrows were not so widely used by the Indians as is commonly assumed from the exaggerated accounts of the Spanish conquistadors. Curare, which is the most deadly poison known to the Indians, is prepared by relatively few tribes though it is traded throughout wide regions" /cited in English/ (95). Among Karaiben /Carib/ tribes in Guiana, poisoned arrows which are shot with a bow are not very often encountered, for they are documented only for the Makuxí /Macusi/ by Richard Schomburgk (96) and for

411 171 the Trio by de Goeje (97). It should be mentioned in this connection, however, that many Karaiben, for example, the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, shoot small poisoned arrows with a blowgun; this weapon is unknown to the Surára and Pakidái.

278 Arrow poisons:

[192] [184] According to what my Surára informants reported to me, they use three kinds of poison of different strengths, all of which, however, they designate by the general name -- mamokórimaunápe. This name is almost the same as the one which the Waiká, according to Zerries, use for arrow poison -- mamokordi (98).

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95. Métraux, 1949, p. 242.

96. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 428.

97. de Goeje, 1906, p. 15; Pl. V, Figs. 10-12; Pl. XI, Fig. 22.

98. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/21 cont./

278 The strongest poison is said to be obtained from the milk of a tree which, in the language of the Surâra, is called -- patemâ. [824] This tree was not pointed out to me; I was told that it only grows in a very distant region. To prepare an allegedly weaker poison the milk of the -- tototó -- (Strychnos toxifera) is used.

[415] As soon as it is obtained, the particular type of milk is boiled in a clay vessel. This makes it turn black, and subsequently [413] it is painted on the arrow points by means of a wooden stick which is wrapped with cotton. Special bags -- kanabó --, which are made [415] out of the leaves of the açaí palm (Euterpe oleracea Mart.) and 824 sewed with lianas, are used for storing them. There is never anything left of the poison itself.

278 438 I was also told that of the tribes allied with the Xiriâna only the Surâra were entrusted with the preparation of these two types of poison. All the Indians who were friendly with them, even the Xiriâna, thus obtained their poisoned arrows from them by barter. The Surâra chief Hewemão, however, emphasized that the detested Waikâ also knew how to prepare arrow poisons, which they used ● [114] above all to shoot at human beings. The latter statement is confirmed by Zerries (99).

99. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

278 /22/ The third type of arrow poison is the weakest. It is made out of snuff powder -- epenâ -- (see pp.190/193, which is mixed with water and boiled. This method is also supposed to be familiar to the Pakidâi and Xiriâna.

Unfortunately, I could not take part in the preparation of the poisons, for, with the exception of the chief /Fig. 3 appears here/ and his brother, only a few older men are familiar with them and they are kept strictly secret even from all the other members of the tribe. The meager information about them is limited to oral statements.

/22 cont./

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[482]
In the forest the Surâra and Pakidâi as a rule carry their bows and arrows longwise with one or both hands above their heads, but occasionally also on the right or left shoulder.

In shooting, the bow is held in a horizontal position with the left hand. The arrow lies to the left of the bow, between thumb and index finger. The man holds the end of the arrow between the index finger and middle finger of the right hand and simultaneously stretches the bowstring with the second joints of these fingers (Fig. 3); occasionally he also adds the second joint of the ring finger, if the shot is to be reinforced. This is a form which, following Morse, is designated as the "Mediterranean release" /cited in English/. This practice has been documented also for Eskimo tribes and Siberian peoples (100), but never for South American Indians. Concerning the tribes on the Aiarý, Koch-Grünberg says that here the men hold the end of the arrow with thumb and index finger of the /23/ right hand, while they simply press the other three fingers against the palm of the hand (101).

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The Yurakare /Yuracare/, too, hold the arrow with the thumb and index finger of the right hand, and they use the remaining three fingers for stretching the bow (102). These latter forms seem to be the most customary in South America, but unfortunately this cannot be definitely established because the information concerning this is too meager. Friederici has already justifiably complained: "With reference to the manner of grasping and stretching the bow and aiming and shooting the arrow, reports are unfortunately very scarce;

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100. Morse, 1885, pp. 12-15 and Figs. 8 and 9.

101. Koch-Grünberg, 1909, p. 104 and Ill. 58.

102. von Holten, 1877, p. 111.

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

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the few that are available are not the type from which rules could be deduced" (103). If the arrow is to be shot upward, the left arm

103. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

is stretched out and the bowstring is pulled up to the right eye with the right hand (Ill. 13). I did not meet any left-handed archers. Koch-Grünberg mentions one and remarks that he was assured there were many of them (104). Among the Mosquito

104. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 73.

Indians in Central America left-handedness seems even to be quite pronounced, for Sapper shows their typical handling of the bow and arrow in the photograph of a Mosquito boy shooting left-handed (105).

105. Sapper, 1903, p. 54.

411 The best shooting performances, which I tested with men and boys, were between 40-50 meters for the former, who shot straight through an empty gasoline can with the large, mounted, lancet-shaped arrow-point, and between 8-10 meters for the latter. Yet even at a distance of 100 meters, most of the men hit the target; the penetrating power, however, was considerably diminished. These figures agree very closely with the statements compiled from the literature by Friederici (106). Several warriors

106. Friederici, 1907, p. 326.

were also able to shoot indirectly, which is shown by the following experiment which I carried out with Hewemão, the chief of the Surára, his younger brother Kurikajawõ, the Surára man Brakaiwõ, and the warrior chief of the Pakidái, Porẽhiwõ. I placed three white leaves of standard size on the ground, one behind the other, at a distance of 30, 28, and 26 meters from the

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian ● [114] ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

[114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

[422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows represent the most valuable private property of every man, and they [796] also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures [756] of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons [439] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and [431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiriána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to [584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons [764] are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p.150).

411 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat 173 bow from the Xiriána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only The branch-bow

Surára
Pakidái

411 /24 cont./

182 lancet-shaped bamboo points, is worn on a neck cord by every hunter and warrior, who has it hang down on his back so that it does not interfere with the stretching of the bow.

411 184 /25/ Quivers of the same form and carried in the same way are also found among the Waiká, as may be seen from a photograph by Zerries (116). Moreover, the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte owns such a quiver, though without decoration, from the Xamatári (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:3a).

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4. Fire-making Apparatus

Tied by means of a string of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) to every Surára and Pakidái quiver at the top and bottom is the fire-drilling apparatus -- borôrohík -- which consists of a lancet-shaped hearth -- panãibequehík -- and two drilling sticks -- [824] [184] ihirupehík (Fig. 5). Both parts are made from the soft wood of the wild cacao tree -- porôroá -- exactly as among the Waiká (117).

117. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

372 114 Koch-Grünberg documents such a fire-drilling apparatus for the Xirianá (118), but without mentioning the material. On the basis

118. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

of a specimen which he brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:124), however, one may state that it is likewise made of the wood of the wild cacao tree. He says nothing at all about [411] quivers and thus does not seem to have found any. Nor did I find elsewhere in the literature any parallels for the very practical combination of quiver and fire-making apparatus (119). Nevertheless,

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119. That it is well-known among the Xamatári, however, is proved by two objects from that tribe in the Hamburg Museum

Surára
Pakidái

/25 cont./

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● 114

119.(cont.) für Volkerkund und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection 56. 15 3a and b), and presumably the fire-making apparatus is likewise fastened to the quiver among the Waiká. Definite statements about this by Zerries and Schuster have not yet been made.

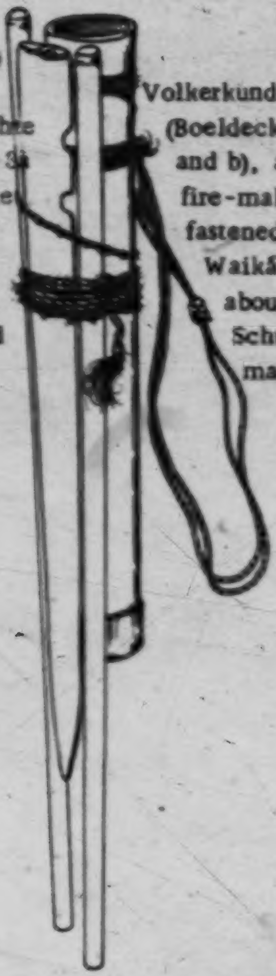

Fig. 5. Bamboo quiver with fire-drill apparatus tied on.

372 Nevertheless,

[484] it is perfectly obvious; for if the Surára and Pakidái men on war and hunting expeditions are unable to return to the maloka in the evening, they are able to kindle a fire along the way in three to four minutes. To do this a man in a squatting position holds the hearth on the ground with one foot and drills with the palms of his hands (Ill. 31). The holes of the hearth are previously bored with [412] [237] a knife made of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) (See P. 116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side.

Surára
Pakidái

/25 cont./

372 (see p.116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side. The hole is enlarged by the drilling. There is loosened a fine dust which slowly starts to smoke and glow and, by way of the groove, falls on tinder previously placed next to it (dry grass, leaves, or dry splinters of bamboo), which quickly catches fire. Cautiously the man blows upon it, and a short time later a flame leaps up. This requires a great deal of practice and skill, however; often he [171] has blisters on his hands after drilling. This is the most widely distributed method of producing fire in South America (120). In their malokas

120. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 118-125 and Map 13.

the Surára and Pakidái preserve the fire.

283

5. Twining and Spinning

[824] For making thread and cord the leaf fibers of a Bromeliaceae, curauá (121), and cotton are used, the latter, however, only in more recent times.

[114]
[171] 121. Koch-Grünberg also verifies the use of this material for the northwestern Brazilian tribes (Koch-Grünberg, 1910, p. 210).

[462] While to this day the curauá fibers are worked, mostly by men and only occasionally by women, with the right hand against the right thigh in the direction of the knee, to produce thread twisted to the right (122), a spindle is used to make cotton thread,

[171] 122. Threads which are not spun with the spindle are twisted to the right among most of the South American tribes. There are exceptions, however, for among a few nations of northwestern South America threads twisted to the left are more prevalent, and

/26 cont./

283 171 184 114 Up to now there has been only one parallel to this, namely a Quechua spindle (124). The spindle of the Karimé, on the basis of the drawing in Salathé's article, seems to resemble those of the Surára and Pakidái (125). Unfortunately, Salathé does not indicate whether the whorl is held in position by a wrapping put on below it or perhaps by means of resin or wax, as is the case, for example, for the spindles of the Chama and Pauserna (126).

283 This already exhausts the comparisons with regard to the securing of the whorl by means of a wrapping, wood, or wax, so that no conclusions about origin and distribution can as yet be drawn about it.

283 123 During the time I lived with the Surára and Pakidái, I found that many women preferred to use the lids of my empty powder-boxes and skin-cream jars as whorls, /27/ and they preferred to spin the surgical cotton which I carried with me rather than their cultivated cotton, because, they said, the threads spun from it were stronger and more durable.

283 Spinning is done in the following way: The woman sits on a thin tree trunk with the lower part of her legs bent back. The cotton that is to be worked hangs over her left shoulder and from there the thread is fed out with the fingers of the left hand. She first rolls the spindle, on the barb of which she has fastened the thread, in a horizontal position with the palm of her right hand on her slightly sloping right thigh, moving her hand rapidly from the knee upwards. This gives the thread a

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124. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 26/27.

125. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305, Fig. 14.

126. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 26/27.

Surára
Pakidái

/27 cont./

283 left twist. Then she lets the spindle fall to a vertical position between her legs and rotate on the ground.

[170] This method belongs to Variation I of the Bakaïri spinning (127), which is extraordinarily characteristic for the Guiana tribes and which is described in a similar manner by Koch-Grünberg (128), Frödin-Nordenskiöld (129), Im Thurn (130), and Roth (131).

283
436
437 The spun threads are wound into round balls, which in this form are used as tribute payment to the Xiriâna (see pp. 159/ 160) and also represent popular trade items, exactly as in the case of the Arekunâ-Taulipang and their neighbors (132).

283
174 The cotton, the spindle, and the technique of spinning it to the left presumably reached the Surâra and Pakidâi from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes by way of the Xiriâna. The fact that cotton and spindle represent imports becomes clear in particular from the technique of the left twist, since in the case of the original material, the curauâ fibers, the threads are always

[171]
[114] twisted to the right. Im Thurn already points out that in Guiana

127. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 34 and 46.

128. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

129. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 52 and 56.

130. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 282.

131. Roth, 1929, p. 23 and Pl. I and II.

132. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

Surára
Pakidái

/27 cont./

283 171 it is chiefly the Karaiben who spin thread out of cotton, and he
174 believes that they also brought along cotton and the spindle
114 when they immigrated into Guiana (133). The latter assumption

133. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 287.

has, however, not yet been proved, for on the upper Rio Negro Koch-Grünberg met Karaiben tribes who were acquainted with neither cotton nor the spindle. To an inquiry by Frödin and Nordenskiöld about this, he replied in a letter as follows: "It is an absolute mystery to me why the Indians on the upper Rio Negro do not plant cotton for spinning and have no spindles. It would be important to investigate how far this absence of spindles extends down the Rio Negro and into its tributaries, which, to be sure, from the Curicuriary downward, are almost completely unknown ethnographically" (134).

134. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 21, footnote 1.

283 Within the Yanonâmi group, cotton and spinning are known,
184 in addition to the Xiriâna, Surára, and Pakidái, also to the
174 Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí, and Karauaterí, members of
114 whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái, and also
to the Karimé (135) and the Waikâ, who, according to Schuster,

135. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 14.

presumably became acquainted with cotton through the Karaiben Makiritare (136).

136. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

Surára
Pakidai

/28 cont./

291 114 [171] I am herewith able to confirm an opinion which Ehrenreich already holds with regard to the covered glans penis among the Xingú Indians (138), which, however, is shared neither by Karl von den Steinen (139) nor by Koch-Grünberg (140). According to the opinion of these two scholars, and also of Nordenskiöld (141) and Krickeberg (142), the tying up of the penis is supposed to protect the glans from penetrating insects, thorns, etc. This assumption, as far as the Surára and Pakidái are concerned, is at most of secondary importance, for the uncovered female vagina is, of course, equally threatened by penetrating insects. But magical conceptions, too, with which Karsten (143) tries to explain the tying up of the penis, are not applicable in the case of the Indians investigated by me. Hence, the second conjecture expressed by Karl von den Steinen, in which he connects this custom directly with the sex life and points out that it might have the same purpose as

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291 [171] [482] 137. (cont.) (Baldus, 1945, pp. 87/88), because there is the very likely danger that it might tear.

138. Ehrenreich, 1890, p. 86.

139. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 195.

140. Koch-Grünberg, 1910b, p. 89.

141. Nordenskiöld, 1922, p. 94.

142. Krickeberg, 1922, p. 251.

143. Karsten, 1926, pp. 151/52.

Surára
Pakidái

/28 cont./

291 114 circumcision, is more suggestive. "Not that the opening is enlarged; it is a matter of a gymnastic treatment of phimosis rather than an operative one. Do they not stretch the skin which the others cut? Do they not make room inside, where the others make it toward the outside? This may be doubted least of all for the clamping of the preputium by means of the hip cord, which, as has already been mentioned, seems to be the oldest form, for the hip cord has been retained everywhere. The skin was roughly pulled forward with the cuff. Among young men it often looked sore and scraped. The European has the shoemaker put shoes that are too tight upon the last, but in the interior of Brazil, where only finished, imported goods are bought, a man of social standing thinks nothing of appearing in patent leather shoes which he has widened by a couple of vigorous slashes. His knife is to the shoemaker's last what the circumcising splinter or thorn is to the hip cord"(144).

[833] Besides the verified feeling of modesty, this assumption may quite possibly be a second reason. One would then have a parallel, as it were, to the girls who are deflowered with the finger by the mother after the first year of life; it is expressly stated that this is done to facilitate sexual intercourse later on (see p. 135).

291 184 Among other Yanonámi tribes, too, the hip cord of plant fibers or cotton is used by both sexes, /29/ and the men likewise tie up the penis with it. I was able to verify this among members of the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí who, as wives or visitors, were staying in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái. The captive Karauaterí girl, Nikeromá, also always wore a hip cord and told me that this was characteristic for her tribe and that the men likewise stuck the member under it. Similarly, Zerries (145) and Hübner (146) point out that the

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144. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 199.

145. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

146. Hübner, 1907, p. 231 and Fig. 12.

Surára
Pakidái

/35 cont./

291 On the basis of my field work, however, I have reached different conclusions with respect to the Surára, Pakidái, Pusheweterí, Aramamesterí, Xiriána, and Karauaterí. Protection of the genital organs is completely eliminated for the women of these tribes, and for the men it is at most of secondary, if not tertiary importance. The thin hip-cord gives them, in fact, the same outward security that the article of clothing gives the civilized person. Though nothing is covered by it, except the glans penis, the absence of it immediately arouses a feeling of modesty in them, which, however, differs from that which has been instilled in us in that it

291 123 has nothing to do with their nakedness. Clothing, shirts and trousers which I brought along as gifts, was donned by them, to be sure, as a joke, in somewhat the way we might dress up for a carnival, but they were glad when they could take it off again. Yet these Indians never showed the least shyness or embarrassment before me in their unclothed state, and when I had won their friendship and convinced them of the harmlessness of my photographic equipment, men, women, and children let themselves be photographed in relaxed and natural poses.

292 In contrast to the important hip-cord, the belts of the Surára and Pakidái are expressly ornamental objects. Since they are worn not only for festivals, however, but also on all ceremonial occasions, magical motives may likewise play a part. At the same time, they are a distinguishing mark for specific tribes and age classes. They differ from all the other belts of South American Indians, as do the men's belts of the Waiká (186) (187), in that they are open in front

186. Zerries, 1955b, colored picture on jacket and photograph on p. 663, lower left.

187. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

●(114) and positively accentuate the pubic parts. Thus, they seem to represent striking evidence for the view of Brosse (188) and

188. Grosse, 1894, p. 96.

Surára
Pakidái

/35 cont./

292 114 Westermarck (189), who regard the belts as a sexual stimulus,

189. Westermarcj, 1901, pp. 195/96, 211.

by means of which the eyes are supposed to be drawn to the pubic parts. For the Surára and Pakidái, however, /36/ this hypothesis does not apply, in spite of their open belts, for the naked body does not provide any sensual stimulation for them, but rather solely the sexual act. According to Krause, among the Karajá /Caraja/ the feeling of modesty of the girls is supposed to have led to the development of the types of belts. As evidence for this, he gives the following observation: "Women never removed or changed their bands in our presence, and small girls from whom I bought belts went behind the nearest mat wall in order to put on a new one there before they brought

291 123 me the worn belt" (190). My experiences among the Surára

190. Krause, 1911, pp. 208/09.

and Pakidái were the same with respect to the hip cords, among men as well as among women and children, but they always untied their belts without shyness and gave them to me in exchange

292 184 for trade goods. This was also true of the Puseheweterí women, which shows that their little fringed aprons do not represent, say, a pubic covering, but merely ornamentation. Moreover, they also tie on their belts only for festive occasions.

291 171 The situation with respect to the children's belt made of the skin of the maracajá is unique. It should be noted, however, that in Guiana, one of the chief South American areas of distribution of the skin belt (191) (192), specimens made of jaguar skin have

191. Becher, 1951, I, p. 82; II, plate and Map No. 4.

192. Becher, 1955, p. 72.

Surára
Pakidái

301 /36 cont./ Even the younger women, however, have
856 the idea that by occasionally wearing it they can preserve their
[824] busts, especially if the cord was made of the original material,
curauá fibers. On the other hand, the chest cord and the string
292 bundle, which is worn only during festivals and on the occasion
of ceremonial acts, are regarded as ornamental objects and
insignia of two age classes.

301 The women of the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí,
184 and Karauaterí whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and
Pakidái also wore such cords and string bundles, to be sure, but
[114] said that they were not used in their tribes. This also explains
why Koch-Grünberg did not mention such articles when he
301 described the dress of the Xiriána (Schirianá). Among the Arekuná-
171 Taulipang, on the other hand, he saw as festival ornaments for
women and men long chains /37/ /Fig. 13 appears here/ of
white beads and brown seeds, which they had slung crosswise in
many windings over the chest and back (196) (197). Aside from
the additional ornamental material used, these chains differ
from the cords and string bundles described above in the way they
are worn, for they reach much farther down.

301 One thus gains the impression that in the case of the chest
177 cord of curauá fibers used by the Surára and Pakidái women it is
a very primitive object from which the string bundle was developed
after the introduction of cotton. This, in turn, could have been
borrowed by Karaiben tribes, perhaps during war contacts, and
[191] transformed by them into a long ornamental chain. The former
is, to be sure, also slung crosswise, but the original meaning, the
enhancement of the breast form, was lost, which may also be
deduced from the fact that among the Arekuná-Taulipang even
men tie such an ornamental chain around themselves.

196. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 37.

197. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 15, 45, 62, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100, 102, and 107.

302 /39 cont./
593 husband beats his wife for reasons of jealousy, he may likewise
choose only this marked part of the head. As a further, but
302 probably secondary reason, I was told that the short haircut and
825 the tonsure made it easier to control the plague of lice. People
with long hair, they thought, were certainly unable to escape
head lice.

302 The tonsure is also mentioned in religion and mythology.
538 Poré, the lord of the moon, is imagined as an old man with a
long white beard and a tonsure painted red (see p. 197).

302 As among many other South American tribes, the tonsure
171 is also a /40/ characteristic feature of all small-sized light-
184 skinned Indians between the Rio Negro and the upper Orinoco,
for the members of both sexes of the Xiriâna, Puseheweterí,
Aramamesterí, and Karauaterí whom I met also wore it (206).

302
171
114
206. The Brazilian country people designate all Indians with tonsures as Coroados = crowned. Baldus and Willems, however, quite rightly demand that the use of this name be avoided in Brazilian ethnology: "Coroado-Várias tribus de indios no Brasil, por examplo, os Botocudos, Kaingang, Purí, Borôro, receberam do povo o nome de Coroados, devido ao modo de cortar o cabelo, se bem que êsse modo não fosse igual entre todas elas. Causou êste têrmo grande confusão na etnografia brasileira, razão pela qual deve ser abandonada" /Coroado -- Various tribes of Indians in Brazil, for example, the Botocudo, Caingang, Puri, Bororo, are given the name of Coroado by people, owing to the manner of cutting the hair, even though this style is not the same among all of them. This term has caused great confusion in Brazilian ethnography, and for this reason it should be abandoned/ (Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 67).

Surára
Pakidái

/42 cont./

304 The former use the juice of the genipap fruit as coloring
824 matter, the latter the ashes of burned honey bees (229) /see
386 footnote p. 90/. The original instrument everywhere for the
412 puncturing of the dots was a palm thorn. Koch-Grünberg, how-
177 ever, also saw the use of pointed fragments of glass among the
above-mentioned Karaiben (230).

230. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45.

304 A decision about whether the tattooings in the mouth region
174 developed independently among the aforementioned Yanonámi,
171 Karaiben, and Aruak tribes or whether they were brought about
● 114 by reciprocal or outside influences cannot be reached as yet,
although Koch-Grünberg saw a young Xiriâna woman who had
the fishhook and dot tattooing of the Arekuná-Taulipang painted
on her face (231). This may have been an exception, however,

231. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

for, strangely enough, he did not find any further tattooing among the Xiriâna.

177 The designs of the Surâra and Pakidâi also seem to be more
L primitive than the basic motifs of the Karaiben and Aruaken in the form of fishhooks, which clearly point to borrowings from civilization. Moreover, the fact that among the Karaiben tribes of Guiana individual men and boys are tattooed in the region of the mouth leads one to conclude that there has been a leveling of this custom. For probably there, too, it was formerly reserved for only the women, just as it is today among the Surâra and Pakidâi.

In conclusion, reference is to be made to P. Schmidt and Nordenskiöld, from whom there are already available brief, summary studies about puncture-tattooing in South America. The first-named author differentiates two groups, which are reserved for men and women or only for women, respectively, and regards a western origin as probable (232). /43/ On the other

/43 cont./

304 232. P. Schmidt, 1913, pp. 1083/84.

174
171
• 114 hand, Nordenskiöld represents the view that puncture-tattooing "could rather easily have been discovered in various places." His map of distribution shows a concentration of this custom in the northern and central parts of South America (233). A comprehensive study on the tattooing of South American Indians would definitely produce worthwhile and informative results.

233. Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 128-130 and Map 19.

301 h) Painting

[531] The body painting which is applied on ceremonial occasions, war expeditions, and occasionally also hunting expeditions is very simple and artless. Either it consists of constantly recurring motifs, such as serpentine lines, circles and dots (234), which are applied sometimes singly, sometimes mixed, or the entire body is rubbed with red or black coloring matter.

234. The implements are also painted with these motifs.

[824]
[386] For the red coloring matter, there is urucú -- *naré* --, a paste which is prepared from the red berries of *Bixa orellana*. Blue color is furnished by the seeds of the genipap fruit (*Genipa brasiliensis*) -- *uarabé* --, whereas for black coloring matter the soot scraped off cooking pots is used, usually mixed with a little genipap.

[413] The serpentine lines, circles, and dots are applied with the fingers or a wooden stick, and for diffused coloring a little ball of cotton is used.

Surára
Pakidái

/44 cont./

301 171 South American tribal units developed their abilities and passed on their traditions over the centuries from generation to generation.

301 184 114 For the Yanonámi the simple upper-arm ornament represents a further external distinction, for Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí men whom I met wore it in the same manner. ● With regard to the Xiriána, my observations correspond with a statement by Koch-Grünberg: "The men," he says, "wrap around the upper arms long, red-dyed cotton strings, on the ends of which hang bird skins (Pl. 46, 2 and 2a). When they go to war, they stick bunches of tail feathers of the red arara in front under the arm bindings, so that they project above the /45/ shoulders" (239).

239. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

For the Waiká this upper-arm ornament is documented by photographs by Zerries (240) (241).

240. Zerries, 1955b, frontispiece.

241. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

301 237 171 As for ear and lip ornaments, parallels are found among the Makuxí and Arekuná-Taulipang, but here the white down-feathers of the king vulture or of the large bocco (mutum) are used (242).

242. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

301 436 j) Bead ornaments

822 European glass beads, especially small ones, are to this day the favorite trade items among the Surára and Pakidái. They value most of all white, blue, and red beads (243), and

243. In this respect the Surára and Pakidái are like many other South American tribes (Menzel, 1957, p. 23 and Pl. 3).

Surára
Pakidái

/45 cont./

301 in most cases, a silver triangle, a large glass bead, or a fruit pit is fastened at the bottom.

301
439 When I came to the Surára and Pakidái, a few bead chains were already in use. According to their statements, they had obtained the glass beads from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Rio Demini, from rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, and from the Xiriána. The latter had presumably acquired this foreign commodity from Karaiben tribes who, for their part, had received it from the whites. This shows that the barter of glass beads is still carried on vigorously among the Indians themselves (245).

● [114] 245. It was already observed by v. Martius that glass beads were traded over wide areas (von Martius, 1867, 1, pp. 702 ff.), and Krause also points out that they are greatly prized as trade items (Krause, 1911, p. 279).

7. Hammocks

352
[824] The Surára and Pakidái have three different kinds of hammocks. The hammock of embira (tree bast, Malvaceae sp.) -- yãritanaçík -- whose length is between 1.80-1.90 meters, may probably be regarded as the oldest and most primitive form (Ill. 26). It has no weft and consists only of ten to 14 embira strips [284] 1-2 centimeters wide. These are bent over at the ends and tied together by means of two ropes 1.30-1.40 meters long, which at the same time serve for suspension (Fig. 18a and b). Both ropes are very strong and durable, for they have been plaited in the form of a braid out of three one-centimeter-wide /46/ /Fig. 18 appears here/ strands of embira. [462] [824] [284] The manufacture of this hammock is extraordinarily simple and is done only by men. From the embira tree they remove 10-15 bast strips two meters long and 1-2 centimeters wide, which they tie together in the manner described above, after they have first plaited two ropes. [412] To cut the tree bast they use the little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 115). Since the yãritanaçík is extraordinarily light, the men like to use it on their

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/46 cont./

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284

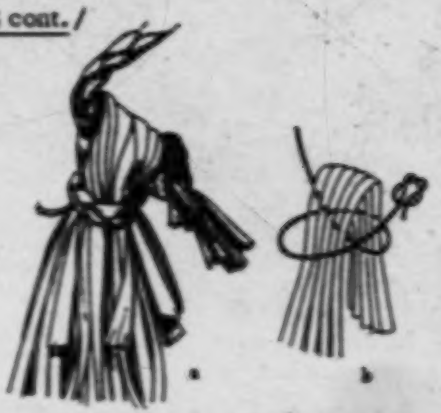

Fig. 18a-b
Detail of the end fastening on a hammock of embira, as well as loop and knot diagram.

352 roving, hunting, and war expeditions as a travel hammock.
[482] Rolled up, it then hangs on their backs, held by a thin neck-cord of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber). For sleeping they usually
[513] lie curled up in it; it takes practice and skill, however, not to fall out.

352 Similar hammocks are also used by the Waiká, and there,
184 according to Zerries, they are supposed to fulfill certain functions
[114] in the ritual system (246) (247), whereas Schuster says that they

246. Zerries, 1955a, p. 87.

247. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

are made only in an emergency (248). The tree-bast hammocks

248. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

of the Xiriâna are more highly developed, for they have a weft of cotton threads and plant fibers. Ruth Haebler describes two specimens in the ethnological museums in Berlin (VA 61119) and Leipzig (8736) (249).

249. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

Surára
Pakidái

/46 cont./

352 171 Even highly civilized peoples, however, for example, the Ipurina, an Aruak /Arawak/ tribe that at present is still living on the Acre, Seruini, and Ituxí rivers in the Brazilian state of Amazonas (250), formerly used these hammocks without weft, as is confirmed by a specimen in the Berlin ethnological museum (VB 3758) (251). There were also some, however, that were bound by means of one or two rather long cross-strips. [114] With respect to their purpose and manufacture, my observations among the Surára and Pakidái are almost identical with Ehrenreich's statements concerning the Ipurina. Thus,, the investigator named writes: "The extremely primitive, but serviceable hammocks which the Ipurina use in an emergency on journeys, hunting expeditions, etc. clearly show how this useful implement may have been invented.

"Four or five strips of bast (embira) two meters long and 3-4 centimeters wide are simply loosened from the tree and gathered together at the ends, and sometimes bound together by one or two shorter cross-strips. In any case, lying in it requires no little skill and practice" (252).

The Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, however, owns one hammock that is still more primitive. It comes from the Nahukuá (Nahuqua), a Karaiben /Carib/ tribe of the Xingú source region, and consists only of a bundle of grass, which, tied together at top and bottom, served as a sleeping arrangement for children (VB 2624) (253).

250. Darcy Ribeiro, 1957, p. 75.

251. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

252. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 63.

253. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

Surára
Pakidai
Shiriana

252
184
285 /51 cont./

The tube-press -- pokunho -- has only recently gained entry among the Surára and Pakidái. Among the former I discovered only three specimens, among the latter five, all of which /52/ /Fig. 22 appears here/ were made of bast strips of the curauá plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) and were relatively small (length, 1.10-1.20 meters; diameter, 3-4 centimeters). They were in the possession of a few families who had obtained them by barter from the Xiriána. Heretofore the manioc pulp has been pressed out with the hand by means of small, square plaitings -- yorohí -- (290).

[192]
[438]
[192]

290. The name is practically identical with the one for the small basket with handle -- yorohikes -- and the plaiting technique is the same throughout.

[178] Even today this method is more common than the one with the tube-press, but the latter is gradually beginning to come in.
[426] Families who do not as yet own a tube-press sometimes borrow one, for up to now it has been made neither by the Surára nor the
114 Pakidái. The above reference to the fact that the tube-press is
252 supposed to represent an import article from the Xiriána is
174 significant, however. That is, when Koch-Grünberg stayed with
285 a Xiriána group in Motomotó, he did not find any there, but only small basket-winnowers, in which the manioc pulp was squeezed
[177] with the hand (291). Hence it is to be assumed that these Indians,

291. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

too, have not known the tube-press for very long; presumably they took it over from the Karaiben. /Fig. 23 appears here./

Surara
Pakidai

/52 cont./

854
9. Band for Carrying Children

287 The band for carrying children -- *okomakuɨ* -- is made
[824] from the bast of an embira tree (*Daphnopsis brasiliensis* Mart.). For this purpose thin trunks are cut down by the men. Then the
[413] women remove the bark and /53/ with a bast beater -- *xamotimɨ* -- (a piece of wood 30-40 centimeters long, from the embira tree) beat on the trunk for 1-2 hours. Through this the bast -- *uarimaxɨke* -- becomes loosened, soft, and pliable, so that finally it can be easily peeled off the trunk -- *pekehɨk* -- (Fig. 23a-c). Then the two ends are slipped into each other and sewed double with a
[412] thread of Bromelia fibers or cotton. The holes are pierced beforehand with the little *cutia*-tooth knife (see p.117), and then the thread can be drawn through without effort.

854 The carrying-band is always slung over the right shoulder so that the right hand remains free for work, and it ends at the level of the left hip (Ill. 15), which gives the sitting child additional support if the mother puts its legs around her body.

This carrying method is very widespread in South America
[171] and is also employed by tribes that do not use the carrying-
[184] band (292). Among the Xiriɨna Koch-Grünberg does not seem to
●[114] have seen such carrying-bands, for he says nothing about them.

10. Receptacles

415
824 As receptacles, the fruits of the Bignoniaceae (*Crescentia cujete* Lin.) and *Cucurbitaceae* (*Cucurbita lagenaria* Lin. and *Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda* = *jamaru*), which offer a variety of shapes (ball shape, bottle shape, cucumber shape, and others), are used principally.

[192] These vessels in general are called -- *horotokɨ* --, except for those of the *jamaru* fruit (Fig. 24), which are called -- *nhapotoɨma*.

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292. See, for example, Koch-Grünberg 1923a, Pl. 45.

Surára
Waica
Shiriana
Pakidai

/55 cont./

412 The Surára acquire these articles by way of barter through their
[432] occasional contacts with the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers)
[439] on the Rio Aracá, while they are given to the Pakidái as gifts by
the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the
[124] middle Demini. To my question as to whether their ancestors
had once used stone axes (I could not discover any), I was always
412 given affirmative replies. They also have a special name for the
192 ax -- hanhokomá. The blade alone is named synonymously,
437 whereas the shaft is called -- hanhokomáhitohí. Most probably
174 the stone axes were acquired by barter, as is the case, according
to Schuster, for the Waiká (310). Which tribe furnished this

310. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

import article could no longer be determined, but this time the
412 Xiriána seem to be excluded as the intermediaries. Koch-Grünberg
174 writes: "They (the Xiriána) in former times apparently had no axes
at all to cut down the forest. At any rate, they did not know what
114 to do with a stone ax that I showed them" (311a).

311a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

481 12. Equipment for Climbing

[139] To climb up tall palms with a smooth trunk, such as the
[192] açai (Euterpe oleracea Mart.), bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus or
Oenocarpus /56/ bacaba Mart.), buçu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.),
buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.), inaja (Maximiliana regia Mart.),
paxiuba (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.), tucuma palm (Astrocaryum sp.),
and others, the Surára and Pakidái use the climbing ring --
horohoromá --, which consists of a split liana (cipó-titica) rolled
up several times. The ends of the liana are wound around the
ring several times and tied with a knot (Fig. 27). /Fig. 27 appears
here./

Surára
Pakidái

/57 cont./

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619 In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiriána /Shiriana/, Pusehewetetí, Aramamesterí, etc.

648 161 [842] [164] [165] [726] Although the Indians investigated by me have very little contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases, chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and grippe;

> [115] 312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. (Statement by Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of Ia. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

and frequent wars (313).

> 313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

2. Names

551 162 [160] The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

> ● [114] 314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

Surára
Pakidái

/63 cont./

854 593 It is simply touching to see how lovingly and solicitously every mother treats her child. But the love of the father is no less great. He openly acknowledges the child and clearly shows his feelings of pride and fatherliness (318), though he is otherwise very reserved in his expressions of feeling. When he comes wearily into the communal house after a strenuous hunting expedition or from his field work, he never forgets to devote himself first of all to his little child for a while. He either takes it on his arm and goes walking with it, or he lays it beside him in the hammock. Even during migrations of the tribe he sometimes
[858] carries the child for hours. Moreover, he loves a daughter just as much as a son.

854 304 During the first year of life the ear lobes and the lower lips of boys and girls are pierced by the mother with a sharp palm thorn, and, in addition, the girls are given perforations in the corners of the mouth. To prevent the wounds from healing, small wooden rods are stuck in temporarily and moved back and forth
304 frequently.

854 833 When a little girl has completed the first year of life, she is deflowered by the mother with her finger. This procedure is done in preparation for sexual intercourse later on.

114 171 854 833 304 Similar procedures were observed by von Feldner among the Machacarí /Mashacali/ Indians, and he describes them as follows: "Nulla inter illas invenitur virgo, quia mater inde a tenera aetate filiae maxima cum cura omnem vaginae constrictionem ingredimentumque amovere studet hoc quidem modo: manui dextrae imponitur folium arboris in infundibuli formam redactum, et dum index, in partes genitales immissus huc et illud movetur, per infundibulum aqua tepida immittitur" (319). In this connection

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● [114] [171] 318. In contrast to this, Alexander von Humboldt, with reference to the Indians on the Orinoco, writes that fathers do not have any affection for their children (A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, p. 155).

319. von Feldner, 1828, II, p. 149, footnote.

Surára
Pakidái

/63 cont./

114 171 854 833 304 Ploss and Bartels have already observed: "These manipulations probably serve not so much the purpose of cleanliness as preparation for the later sexual functions" (320).

320. Ploss and Bartels, 1927, p. 376.

171 304 854 A custom which is said to prevail in Paraguay should be mentioned in this connection. When a girl is born there, the midwife inserts her finger into the vagina and says: This is a woman (321). Unfortunately, there is no account of the origin of this custom. It is possible that it was taken over from Indians, because in Paraguay the Indian population is, of course, numerically the largest.

321. Written communication from Montegazza to Ploss (Ploss, 1912, p. 219).

Among most South American tribes for whom there is evidence of an artificial destruction of the hymen, however, chiefly those of the Tukano /Tucano/ and Pano linguistic families, but also some of the Aruaken /Arawak/ and Tupi, it is done for ritualistic purposes at the onset of puberty (322).

322. Fuchs, 1956, pp. 79-81.

Among the Totonaken /Totonac/ in Mexico it is one of the duties of two priests to destroy with their fingers the hymen of female babies 28-29 days after birth. At the same time they ordered the mothers to repeat the defloration six years later with their fingers (323). Strebel regards this procedure as a castigation rite, corresponding to the circumcision of male infants, which was also carried out by the priests. "Even the child was to pay its tribute to the gods, /64/ and the fact that the sexual parts were chosen for

323. Krickeberg, 1918-1922, p. 47.

Surára
Pakidái

854 /64 cont./ If the child's nose is not
514 clean, the mother carefully takes it between her teeth, presses
its contents into her mouth, and spits them out. The women
[123] found it most unhygienic that I blew my nose into a handkerchief
and carried it with me.

856 The little Surára and Pakidái learn to walk and talk at the
593 same age as the children of civilization, and they are aided by their parents, siblings, and relatives. The pleasure of the relatives is great and they are overjoyed when the child is able to stand and walk and babble its first words, *nápe*=mother and *hápe*=father.

862 e) Name-giving

After the completion of the third year, a new, important
period of life begins. The nursing period is ended, and the child,
[851] which hitherto belonged to the flesh and blood of the mother (325b), has become an independent human being.

851 325b. This idea is very unusual for South
846 American Indians. It should be remem-
● 114 bered, however, that among most of the
171 tribes the so-called couvade, the men's
842 childbed, is practiced. Karl von den Steinen, who has examined the psychological basis of this custom, says that in this case the child, whether it be a boy or girl, is "the little father," so to speak, a part of the father, that is, a bit of his body. (K. von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 334 ff.) "The activity of the mother in this connection is compared to that of the soil, which receives the seed." (von Spix and von Martius, 1831, p. 1339.)

000 has become an independent human being. Now it is also given a
553 name, which is taken from the animal or vegetable kingdom. The
776 name is given to the father, when he offers his prayers in snuff-powder
[782] intoxication, by the gigantic animal and plant spirits living on

Surára, Pakidai

/64 cont./

553 high mountain ridges -- hekurá --, who represent the intermedi-
776 aries to Poré and Perimbó, the joint Supreme Being of these
[782] Indians (see pp.197/199). The particular animal or plant whose
name a child bears is regarded as a sort of "spiritus familiaris"
[777] throughout its life. This is linked to the idea that the fate of the
child has now become identical in essence with them; that is to
say, good fortune, but also the suffering and dying of animals and
plants are transferred to the like-named human beings.

553 The use of animal names corresponds to the nagualistic
● 114 ideas and customs which Eduard Seler mentions in his monograph
191 /65/ on Michuacan /Michoacán/ (326), while plant names are

326. Seler, 1908, pp. 104/05.

also included under the same aspect by the Surára and Pakidái.
The name "nagual," according to Seler, is derived from the Aztec
word naualli = disguise (327). In place of nagualism, however, the

327. Seler, 1904, pp. 75/76.

technical term "tonalism" may also be used (Aztec tonalli = some-
one's destiny, fate, soul, spirit...) (328).

328. Haekel, 1958, p. 45.

553 On the day of the name-giving the children are given a
302 tonsure such as is worn by all adults of both sexes. It is shaved
[412] off with the sharpened side of a split piece of reed (taquara --
[824] Guadua sp.). Simultaneously they are attired for the first time in
553 the hip cord of cotton or plant fibers, which they may then never remove
291 up to the end of their lives, not even while bathing or during sleep.
The cord must, of course, be renewed occasionally, but this is
done in all secrecy. At the time of the donning of the hip cord by
little boys, the penis is tied up, with the preputium held fast under
[834] the cord by means of a loop (Ill. 22). From now on the penis must
no longer hang down, for this would be an offense against good
[292] form. On festive occasions a belt of cotton is also tied around
children (see pp. 64ff.).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/75 cont./

619 already waiting for him. After such a visit, the Surára and Pakidái
651 are thoroughly stripped, but at least the constraint under which
576 they were put during these hours has been removed, and one soon
574 hears them laughing and joking again (346).

● [114] 346. For traveling investigators who come into contact with tribes of this region it is also very important to make sure, in offering presents and trade articles, that valuable objects are held back at first, because the chief always takes his share last. A visitor who is not familiar with this mentality and stands empty-handed at the end would incur the enmity of the chief and thus of the entire tribe from the outset.

7. Making a Living

433 a) General
178 At present the Surára and Pakidái are in a state of transition
241 from an exploitative to a productive economy. The traditional
means of acquiring food, hunting and gathering, still played a
dominant role among these Indians at the time of my visit, but I
could see that most of the members of the tribe, especially the
men, already manifested a great interest in agriculture, which had
[622] been introduced a generation or two before. The chiefs in particular proved to be shining models, for they set a good example in
000 all the work in the roca (forest clearing) (347). According to their

[174] 347. The myth about the origin of the banana (see p. 249) clearly shows that the Surára and Pakidái were formerly only hunters and gatherers.

Surára
Pakidái

/*78 cont.*/

222 carrying baskets. -- Of the fruits of the wild cacao tree (*Theobroma* sp.) -- *boroã* --, which has many branches and whose foliage is dense and dark, only the sweet pith of the husks is sucked out, while the beans, which played such an important part among the high-culture peoples of Central America, are carelessly thrown away (363). -- The apple-like fruit of the lucuma tree (*Lucuma macrocarpa* Hub.) -- *kumatõ* -- is valued for its sweetish, gelatinous pulp that surrounds the pit; the /*79*/ outer meat of the fruit and the shell, on the other hand, has a very bitter, unpleasant taste. -- The fruit of the wild pineapple, which only reaches the size of a medium-sized apple, is also eaten with relish.

The pods of the *pacova sororoca*, a Musaceae species (*Ravenala guianensis* Benth.) -- *mokohẽ* -- (364), gathered especially frequently, contribute more to the everyday food. -- When there is an occasional food shortage during the rainy season, the flat brown fruits of the pot tree (*Lecythis longifolia*), which are called *uapõ* by the Surára and *kurupõ* by the Pakidái, are appreciated to this day (365).

Besides these most important vegetable products that are gathered, there are also a great many animal ones. To be named here above all is the honey of several species of small bees (366)

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[184]
[192]
●[114]

363. Zerries reports the same thing of the Waikã, and here the names are "*loa*" or "*boholoa*" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 150; Zerries, 1958c, p. 177).

364. The *pacova-sororoca* is often erroneously called "wild banana" because its large leaves, which resemble those of the banana trees.

365. The Waikã have the name "*wabu*" for them (Zerries, 1956b, p. 149; Zerries, 1958c, p. 177); Barker, 1953, p. 443).

[36]

366. There are said to be more than 20 different varieties of them.

Surára
Pakidái

/80 cont./

241 166 361 It is worth mentioning that at present in the course of one year the Surára as well as the Pakidái regularly carry on their field work in two places that are far apart. During the rainy season, April-September, the Surára, as is well known, live at the Cachoeira dos Indios on the upper Aracá and the Pakidái on a right tributary of the middle Demini, where they also own fields. On the other hand, they spend the summer season together in the large, open Surára maloka (between the Demini and Aracá rivers), around which was laid out a roça which was large enough to be divided among the Surára and Pakidái families. Thus, both tribes always have the benefit of abundant harvests at their permanent dwelling sites. In addition, there are the bananas and pupunha fruits of the abandoned fields, to which the entire tribe travels at the time of this harvest, or gathering expeditions are undertaken to bring in chestnuts, inga, and other kinds of wild fruits.

241 423 Since, however, on account of the seminomadic way of life of these Indians, one forest clearing or another is left untended for shorter or longer periods, there is the danger that in the meantime members of hostile tribes will break in and take possession of the produce there. Provision is made for this, however. Before the tribe leaves one of its clearings, a few men commissioned by the chief stick several wooden arrow points and thorns of the pupunha palm, coated with poison, into the ground and put leaves over them. Hostile Indians with plunder in view therefore risk the danger of running these into their legs (370).

[291] 370. All Indians of this region go barefoot.

[184] As I was told, this custom is resorted to by all Yanonámi tribes, and for this reason no Indian would ever think of setting foot on the deserted clearing of another tribe (371).

[114] 371. This hint may be of the greatest importance for research travelers who want to work in this region.

/81 cont./

245 [481] with a specially constructed apparatus (see p. 120), bears very narrow, pinnate leaves that are curly at the tips and are always gently swaying in the wind. They stand around the community house like sentinels and seem to be perpetually nodding benevolently and reassuringly to the inhabitants of the large, open maloka (Ill. 6). Their fruits -- maraxá -- (377),

377. The name among the Waiká is very similar -- "lasha" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 149).

50-80 of which form a cluster, are noteworthy. They can be harvested only once a year, between September-April, but each palm has at least three, and sometimes four clusters, that is to say, approximately 200-300 fruits. At first they look yellow, but after ripening they take on a bright red color. In contrast to other palm fruits, they are characterized by especially abundant meat.

137 245 ● 114 As to the question of whether or not the pupunha fruit has seeds, there are various opinions. Zerries did not find any seedless ones (378). On the other hand, I saw fruits with

378. Zerries, 1956b, p. 149.

seeds and without. This observation is confirmed by statements by Sauer, who writes: "In many cases it has lost the capacity to produce fertile seeds..." /cited in English/ (379).

379. Sauer, 1950, p. 525.

And even Alexander von Humboldt (380) and Vinci (381)

380. Alexander von Humboldt, 1880, III, p. 281.

381. Vinci, 1956, pp. 370-375.

Surára
Pakidái

245 /81 cont./
139
114 mention such seedless fruits (382).
[194]
[184]

382. Zerries, moreover, thinks it is possible that among the Waiká the pupunha fruit was the predecessor of the mealy banana (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

244 The cultivation of tubers, which is always done separately from the banana plantings, has hitherto been practiced on only a very modest scale. It includes the cultivation of taioba or taro (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott.) -- ohíná -- (383), cará or yams (Dioscorea sp.) -- cahiromá -- sweet manioc, known in Brazil as macaxeira aipim or mandioca doce (Manihot palmata Muell. Arg.) -- mîhitaríma -- bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima Pohl) -- kuamirimakõše --, and sweet potatoes (Ipomoea batatas Lam.) -- hikarí -- (384). Worth mentioning

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243

383. Among the Waiká the corresponding name is "ohina" (Zerries, 1956b p. 153).

384. The Waiká call the sweet potato "higali" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

also are the sugar cane plantings (sugar cane (Saccharum officinale) -- bukší -- (385)) and the absence of maize (386).

385. The Waiká have the same word for sugar cane (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

[184] 386. Zerries, to be sure, found evidence of its cultivation by the Waiká. But, he adds, maize "is little more than a rare delicacy" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

252
262

394. (cont.)
nourishment during their first and second menstruation (see p. 142), and it represents the most important item of food for pregnant women, and for several months after confinement. Among the Tapirapé, on the other hand, where the banana also represents a basic part of the diet, parents must refrain from eating this fruit after a birth. "They believe that the child would die if they disregarded this rule" /cited in English/ (Baldus, 1956b, p. 601). [171]

252 raw. -- The mealy, nourishing fruits of the pupunha palm are primarily boiled. Then the soup is allowed to cool and a refreshing drink is obtained in this way. Before festivals all the [415] women pour it into a large, wooden trough, which is found in every maloka, so that there will be enough on hand. By means of steaming or roasting, a solid food is also prepared from them (395). --

• [114]
[139]

395. Alexander von Humboldt, by the way designates the pupunha or pihiguao palm as "Pfirsich-palme" /peach palm/ and praises the delicious taste of its fruit (Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 281 f., 300; IV, p. 145). I cannot agree with the great scholar in this, for to me it tasted like slightly bitter potatoes. Zerries, by the way, is of the same opinion (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

Taioba, cará, sweet potatoes, and sweet manioc are steamed in a pot or roasted in hot ashes without being previously washed or
252 peeled. -- Bitter manioc is scraped by the women with the
412 lancet-shaped bamboo knife (see p. 118) and then grated on a rough slab of granite, for they do not have grating boards (396) (397).

[171]
[123]

396. My servant Mateus, however, made them

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/83 cont./

252
412
[177]
[123]
[192]

396. (cont.)
a few graters out of the sides of our empty gasoline cans by boring numerous holes in them with a nail. They were very happy over these and maintained that it was considerably more agreeable to grate on them. They also immediately had a name for this grater -- kabariçinamó.

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184
412

397. The Xiriâna, too, grate the manioc roots on rough slabs of granite (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

252 The grated pulp is then pressed out by hand with the help of small, square strips of plaiting (see p. 112), which are rolled up (398).

398. The poison is removed from the manioc pulp in the same way among the Xiriâna (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

Among the Surâra I found three tube presses and among the Pakidâi five, which they had obtained from the Xiriâna (see p. 112). With the flour the women bake, on large, flat granite stones under which a fire is kindled, manioc flat-cakes, which are consumed with pleasure. This food, which appeared among them only a comparatively short time ago, seems to become more and more popular. The preparation of kaschirí is unknown (399). 273

● [114]
[177]

399. Since, however, my servant, a pure-blooded Tukano /Tucano/ Indian, felt a great desire for a slight alcoholic intoxication at the sight of the manioc flat-cakes, he taught the Surâra how to make kaschirí. At first they tried this unknown drink very critically. But after the first swallow their eyes shone, and they slapped Mateus on the shoulder enthusiastically and assured him again and again how good it tasted to them.

/84 cont./

272 are kneaded and pulverized in calabashes filled with water. This produces a grayish-brown, greasy juice which, after the fleshy husks have been fished out and thrown away, reminds one of cacao in appearance and flavor and is extremely filling. This drink tasted even better to me when I added a little sugar. [123] [263] The Indians who tasted this, however, were not enthusiastic about the addition, since they like sugar just as little as salt. I was unable to please either children or adults with my bonbons. The fruit of the *baçu* *buriti*, *curauá*, piaçaba, and *ubim* palms (see p. 166) is made into beverages in the same way, while that of the inaja palm is cooked beforehand. The juice obtained from this tastes quite insipid, to be sure, but likewise has a high food value.

● [114] [184] [171] One should also mention that a drink is prepared from the gathered honey by mixing it with water. I never saw it eaten, as has been confirmed for the Waikâ (407) and various /85/ other

407. Zerries, 1956b, p. 150.

tribes of Guiana (408) (409).

408. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 55.

409. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 169.

271 184 As the above account shows, the Surâra and Pakidâi do not lack variety with regard to beverages, so that only in the rarest instances need they resort to plain water, as is the case, according to Zerries' accounts, among the Waikâ (410). As among

273 184

410. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

the latter (411), however, alcoholic beverages are completely

411. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

unknown to the Surâra and Pakidâi too.

Surára
Pakidái

/86 cont./

231 [262] [773] Dogs are never killed; they are allowed to live until they die of old age. When I asked whether dog meat was ever eaten in former times, men and women, with horrified faces, answered in the negative. Yet this custom is supposed to have prevailed at one time among various tribes of Guiana (414). There do not seem to be any myths about dogs.

123 231 ● [114] 231 [114] I should also like to mention that during my months-long, extremely friendly stay with the Surára and Pakidái, and in spite of great efforts, in which the Indians helped me, I never succeeded in winning the affection of their dogs. It meant a good deal that in time I was tolerated by them. I can agree perfectly with Friederici when he writes: "The Indian dog has always hated the white man, and, conversely, the dog of the European, the Indian. The odors given off by the races are so different that even a human nose can usually tell the difference, how much more a dog. If a white man walked through an Indian camp he usually had a whole pack of growling and teeth-baring dogs behind him" (415). But I also found that the opposite was true. The dogs kept at the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini, mongrels of the most diverse breeds, but among them also former Indian dogs, behaved, in their hatred, as though they were mad when Pakidái families came to visit (416).

414. Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 189.

415. Friederici, 1899, p. 365.

[191] 416. Baldus, on the occasion of his Chaco expedition, also observed that Indian dogs, once they are in the hands of whites, become the bitterest enemies of their former masters (Baldus, 1931, p. 18).

Surára
Pakidái

/88 cont./

276 and Pakidái I was unable to learn anything with reference to this,
although there, too, the consumption of tobacco is uncommonly
[249] great. They plant plenty of tobacco in all the forest clearings,
however, and if it were entirely harvested in the fields where they
were living at the time, the men fetch it from other distant roças
or in emergencies they obtain it from friendly tribes by barter.

[184] Koch-Grünberg reports that the Xiriána and Waiká hordes
● [114] visited by him chew the tobacco (430). From his description, however, it is to be seen that actually a sucking of the tobacco is
276 also involved. The Arekuná on the Roroíma probably also did the
171 same thing, although Richard Schomburgk (431) and Appun (432)
114 agree in speaking of "tobacco chewing." It is noteworthy that
Koch-Grünberg (433) did not observe this form of tobacco enjoyment among any other tribe in the Roroíma region, for on the occasion of his visits the men smoked the tobacco as cigarettes or in short English pipes which were imported from British Guiana; he never saw women smoke.

123 If I offered the Surára and Pakidái cigarettes, they first
276 always removed the paper and enjoyed the tobacco in the same
way as their cultivated tobacco. Yet they were not very enthusiastic about it, for in their opinion the cigarette tobacco was much too weak. In time, however, men and children became accustomed to smoking (434), but not the women.

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430. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

431. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 239.

432. Appun, 1871, p. 521.

433. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 57.

434. As a result of this, our supply of cigarettes rapidly dwindled, and my

296 /89 cont./

171 Among the Waiká, this taking of snuff is done in the same

[184] way (438). The Tuparí (439) and numerous other tribes of western

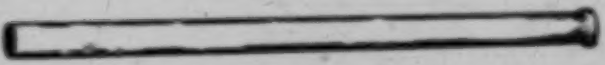
438. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

439. Caspar, 1953, pp. 151 ff.

South America (440) also indulge in this custom, though the com-

440. Gillin, 1948, p. 855.

[415]



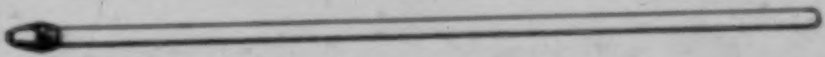


Fig. 28a. Bamboo tube for storing snuff-powder.

Fig. 28b. Bamboo snuff-tube.

position of the powder, except for the paricá or Piptadenia seeds, seems to differ from tribe to tribe. Cooper, moreover, in a comparative study of the taking of Piptadenia snuff, comes to the conclusion that this is a "western trait" /cited in English/ (441). ● [114]

441. Cooper, 1949, pp. 536-538 and Map 10.

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

774 551 /92 cont./
and children, bear names of plants or animals (see pp. 138/139). This results in a symbiosis which at the same time furnishes proof of the alter-ego motif to be found here. If a person who has passed the third year of life dies, an animal or plant of the species whose name he bore must likewise be killed or its death be brought about. This is done so that, for the long journey to the moon, the soul of the deceased has a companion who leads the way and facilitates for it entrance into the paradisiac realm of the dead (see also p. 149). 764 551 776 775

787 216 /93/ If the chiefs, who, of course, are at the same time medicine men, or other male members of the tribe wish to make contact with the nature spirits, either in connection with curing the sick, before or after hunting expeditions, on the occasion of prayers of thanksgiving for a successful harvest, etc., they have another man blow narcotic powder into the nose with a bamboo tube and immediately afterwards fall into a state of intoxication in which they feel themselves to be giants among giants (see p. 193). Thus, it is understandable that in a snuff-powder intoxication they identify themselves with the hekurá and use a very similar sounding word -- tekurá -- for any magical performance.

776 184 [114] If one compares the beliefs of the Surára and Pakidái with those of the related Waiká /Waica/, who were studied by Otto Zerries, Meinhard Schuster, and the American Missionary James Paul Barker (448) (449a) (449b), one finds that they are largely in accord in their basic features.

All the tribes mentioned believe in a Supreme Being, Poré or "Omaua," respectively, and ascribe to it the creation of the earth and all living creatures. To be sure, there are certain differences, which may, however, be traced back to external influences. Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon --

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448. Zerries, 1958a.

449a. Zerries, 1958b.

449b. Barker, 1953.

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

776 184 821 /98 cont./ Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon— Perimbó -- and with the latter forms an inseparable unity (450), whereas "Omaua," together with a helper, "Yoaua," lives in the western sky, where they too produce rain, in that they pour the water out of the two celestial rivers (451). In contrast to this among the Surára and Pakidái it is believed that Poré shakes the rain-tree of the moon (see p. 199).

821 184 773 Great significance is also attached to the moon by the Waika, and, significantly enough, also in connection with the creation of human beings. This may be seen from their legend of primitive times (452), which, except for minor deviations, corresponds to the one which the Surára chief Hewemão told me

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● [114] [171] 450. This conception, which seems rather strange and in which Josef Haekel therefore thinks he sees a contradiction (Haekel, 1959, p. 40), is, however, also confirmed for the Uitoto /Witoto/, for Preuss writes about it, among other things: "We thus have here the rare instance in which, through a combination of the god of the earth and a moon demon, a single deity has arisen, a sort of monotheism, alongside of which there are only very insignificant demons" (Preuss, 1922, p. 176). And elsewhere he states: "The fact that moon and Supreme Being here coincide may therefore have come about later, but not necessarily. Today we have them as an inseparable unity" (Preuss, 1922, p. 184).

451. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

452. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

Surára
Pakidai
Waica

776 /94 cont./

174 468. Gillin, 1936, pp. 155 ff.

[171] Kalina (469), Wajana (Oyana) (470), Makiritare (471).

469. de Goeje, 1943, pp. 26 ff.

470. Ahlbrinck, 1956, p. 26.

471. Cruxent, 1953, pp. 325 ff.

776 "The suggested parallels," Haekel goes on to say, "be-
174 tween Yanoama and Carib call attention, in any case, to a
114 series of problems for which we are still far from a solution
171 today. The probability of historical relationships can undoubtedly
not be overlooked. But who were the 'givers,' who the 'receivers'?
It is obvious that the Surara-Pakidai and Waika lie within the
sphere of influence of Cariban tribes, but in my opinion there
is no justification for thinking merely of influences from the
Carib in connection with the similarities coming to light. One
should also take into consideration the fact that Yanoama and
Carib participated jointly in an older substratum" (472). On

472. Haekel, 1959, p. 43.

this point I agree with Haekel completely. I also share certain reservations that he has with regard to the avowed western orientation of the Waiká or the Yanonámi culture (473), which

473. Haekel, 1959, pp. 43/44.

Zerries represents (474). True, there is much in favor of it,

474. Zerries, 1955a, p. 81.

among other things a definite form of endocannibalism and the ritual taking of a narcotic snuffpowder. Further proof might be seen in the fact that among the Ipurina on the Rio Purús the

Surara
Pakidái

/94 cont./

776 174 171 ● 114 moon -- "pati" -- is venerated as Supreme Being and "father," who causes the fruits to grow (475). In this case, however, Ehrenreich believes that there has been Christian influence. Among the Sâliva in southern and eastern Colombia /95/ one also finds certain features in the religion and mythology which are reminiscent of those of the Yanonâmi and Karaiben, and the Supreme Being worshiped by them is called "Puru" (476), a name which sounds very similar to Porê and "Purâ." Haekel further points out that the religion of the Sâliva shows marked agreement with the neighboring Aruak Achagua (477), which was described by Hernandez de Alba (478). Moreover, it should be mentioned that the Guahibo Indians on the Venzuelan banks of the Orinoco, according to Zerries, have taken over their deity, Purnaminali, from the Achagua or Sâliva (479).

776 171 But in the eastern regions of Guiana there are also significant parallels with respect to the religious and mythological conceptions of the Yanonâmi mentioned. Reference has already been made to the Kachuyana and their Supreme Being, Purâ (see p. 205). They are even more strongly pronounced among the Warrau /Warao/. In their moon myth about "Aborê" and "Wowtâh" the moon has the character of a culture hero (480).

475. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 72.

476. H. v. Walde-Waldegg, 1936, pp. 40 ff.

477. Haekel, 1959, pp. 45/46.

478. Hernandez de Alba, 1948, pp. 410 ff.

479. Zerries, 1956c, p. 232.

480. Brett, 1880, p. 76.

Surára
Pakidai
Waica

/95 cont./

776 171 exactly as among the Surára and Pakidái; moreover, the correspondence between the names Aboré and Poré is especially great. The supplying of cultural possessions is also attributed to the deities in each case. In the Warrau myth it is even said that Aboré fled before Wowtâh into the land of the whites, from whence he provided his fellow tribesmen with import articles (481).

481. Brett, 1880, pp. 84 ff.

774 171 The idea that there are gigantic prototypes of each animal and plant species also exists among other South American tribes. Zerries has already worked out the connections for this and has cited several investigators who confirmed identical or similar views for various Indian peoples, among them Arawak, Mura, tribes of the Chaco, Karaiben in Guiana (Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, Cavina and Tumupasa Indians of northeastern Bolivia, Cáyapa in Ecuador, and Yaruro in Venezuela (482).

482. Zerries, 1951, pp. 149/50.

774 171 •114 The conception of the Yaruro in particular shows corresponding parallels, according to Petrullo's description (483).

483. Petrullo, 1939, p. 237.

For the Karaiben tribe Arekuná, Koch-Grünberg, to be sure, does not find any evidence of gigantic plant spirits, but their idea of the animal spirits is very similar; here they are called "podole" = father (484).

484. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 187.

773 184 If one then compares the myths which deal with happenings on the already created earth, one is struck by the fact that among the Waiká the transformations of human beings into land animals cover a wide range (485). The same is true among the

485. Zerries, 1958b, p. 283.

Surára
Pakidái

/102 cont./

755 I was allowed to take part as a spectator in all the cures,
(123) and each rekurá was a new, great experience for me. I was
755 amazed at the devotion, passion, and fervor with which the
756 chief and his helpers interceded with all their physical and
622 psychic powers to ward off the sicknesses of their fellow-
tribesmen (504). This explains why the Surára and Pakidái have such boundless confidence in their chiefs and are absolutely convinced of their magic powers. It is doubtless due to this unshakable faith that so many of the sick can be cured (505).

[123] 504. The same care was bestowed upon me, the stranger. If I had an attack of malaria, the chief and his helpers likewise danced around me, and they sang in chorus while Hewemão stroked my body, massaged it, and sucked at it. He was of the opinion that the Waiká had poisoned my blood because I lived in friendship with the Surára and had brought them so many beautiful gifts.

[431] 505. I never saw the chiefs demand a fee for their cures. The members of the tribe show their appreciation, however, by continuously offering their chiefs larger or smaller gifts (see p. 130).

755 In this context I should like to cite the following very re-
756 vealing description by Herbert Baldus: "The witch doctors were
● 114 simply called imposters by early travelers, and even today all
whites who are incapable of understanding the mentality of the Indian are of the same opinion. One forgets that, as a result of the suggestibility of the primitive, the magic practices not only essentially help the sick person and rid his relatives of their fears, but also weave such a spell around the practitioner himself that it is impossible to decide to what extent he is acting in good

Surára
Pakidái

/102 cont./

755 756 •114 faith and to what extent he is faking" (506). The fact that

506. Baldus, 1931, p. 142.

even in modern medicine great importance is now attributed to the suggestive influence of the physician on his patients is shown in the following statements by Hans Grimm: "If we emphasize that the suggestive influence of the physician's personality on the patient is often of decisive influence (Jores), if we use hypnosis, the so-called 'autogenous training,' etc., we are, in our own way, returning to what was already playing a role in shamanistic techniques" (507).

507. Grimm, 1958/59, p. 357.

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3. Religious Festivals

Every year, toward the end of the dry season, March-April, the Surára and Pakidái jointly celebrate the festival in memory of the dead -- patapáanomão -- (508). It always takes

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508. This contains the word for corpse, the male or female dead person -- anomão.

place in the large, open Surára maloka Jaracá (see pp. 25 ff.). Occasionally a few families of friendly tribes (Xiriána, Pusheweterí, Aramamesterí, etc.) also take part. The [114] patapáanomão festival, which I witnessed in all its phases, /103/ was held during the period from the fourth to the sixth of 769 251 April, 1956. But even before that there were great preparations for this purpose. The men set out on a joint hunting expedition in order to kill as many tapirs as possible, the meat of which was then roasted on roasting racks over an even fire, not too hot, until it was black and bone-hard, so that it could be kept for a

/107 cont./

769 in his place. The wife then massaged the head of the exhausted
526 one, so that he would quickly be ready to resume. The chiefs
[622] and war chiefs in particular distinguished themselves in this
[624] type of sport. They also fought the longest, some of them with
[147] five, six, and more opponents; they had positively unbelievable
strength and endurance.

These combats, in which one man always symbolically
represented the good spirit, that is, a hekurá, and the other,
who had smeared himself with soot, the evil spirit, a nonexí
(see pp. 213 ff., 225 ff.), lasted almost two hours. After
[262] that the men were completely exhausted and refreshed them-
selves with a new, joint meal of tapir meat and manioc flat-
[276] cakes. Afterwards, however, many of the participants suffered
from severe headaches brought on by the snuff-powder in connection with the inhuman physical exertion, so that many wives were obliged to massage their husbands' heads.

769 In the evening there was another half-hour procession in the maloka courtyard, when all the little jamaru vessels in which remains of bone ashes were stored were carried along. This retention of a certain amount of ashes is very important, so that the next festival in memory of the dead can be held, even though no member of the tribe /108/ dies up to that time. It could not take place without any bone ashes of deceased Surára or Pakidái.

769 ● 114 184 If one compares this annual festival with that of the Waiká, which was described by Zerries in great detail (515), one finds extensive analogies in the most important phases. Zerries believes that among the Waiká it was originally a harvest festival to which other rites of various kinds were added (516). For the Surára and Pakidái, on the other hand, it can definitely be said that here there are no features reminiscent of a harvest festival.

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515. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662-665.

516. Zerries, 1955b, p. 662.

Surára,
Pakidái
Waica

/108 cont./

769 182 184 789 526 (266) festival. It is decidedly a festival in memory of the dead, which characterized by the ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe. At the same time, defensive magic against the _noneri_ is connected with it, for they, of course, are the ones who transmit sickness and thereby frequently cause death. As in all the magic cures for healing the sick, where the symbolic struggles between the "_hekurá_" and one or more "_noneri_" are always enacted (see pp. 212 ff.), this factor is naturally also in evidence in all parts of the festival, in the dances, in the mixing of bone ashes, when the medicine man pulls down-feathers of the _gavião-real_ out of the hair of the warriors and adds these, and in the duels performed in a sitting position. The latter are also documented for the Waiká in the same way, but Zerries writes that neither for him nor for the American missionaries was it possible to find out anything definite about the meaning of this ceremony (517). Presumably,

517. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

however, it is the same symbolic struggle between a good and an evil spirit as among the Surára and Pakidái. As yet nothing has been reported about this from other Indian tribes. My informants, however, told me that the Xiriána, Pusheweteri, and Aramamesteri engage in these combats on the occasion of their festivals in memory of the dead. Hence it seems to be a very special characteristic of the Yanonámi, which in former

114 769 526 times may have been even more widespread. Herr Dr. Gerdt Kutscher, in connection with a lecture I gave in Berlin, called my attention to the fact that the position taken by the two men during this is reminiscent of the painting on a clay bowl from the Rio Ulúa, Honduras (518). According to Zerries, Barker,

518. This is in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (No. IVa Ca 22381) and was reproduced in an article by Walter Lehmann (Lehmann, 1910, p. 737, Ill. 9).

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

114 769 526 184 /108 cont./ According To Zerries, Barker, and Dupouy, there is also a similar combat among the Waiká, in which the partners alternately beat each other on the chest with clenched fists (519a, b, c). I did not observe this among

519a. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

519b. Barker, 1953, p. 447.

519c. Dupouy, 1953, p. 495.

114 769 276 the Surára and Pakidái. Similarly unknown there is the custom, also reported by Zerries, that the men, when they run about in the snuff-powder intoxication, hit each other on the back with the palm of the hand (520). The author named regards this as a

520. Zerries 1955b, p. 665.

769 177 fertility rite. There seems to be involved here, however, outside influences of agricultural tribes, which is indicated also by the ceremonial gathering of *pupunha* fruits (521).

521. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

769 184 562 [266] It is further noteworthy that among the Waiká women and girls actively participate in the festival in that they take part in some dances and even drink some of the banana soup mixed with bone ashes (522). In contrast to this, the female members of

522. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662 ff.

the tribe act only as spectators among the Surára and Pakidái.

769 184 266 114 The endocannibalism should be regarded as a very significant similar trait. It is documented for the Waiká by Cruxent (523a)

523a. Cruxent, 1953a, pp. 149/50.

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

/108 cont./

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184
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• 114

and Zerries in several articles (523b) (524) (525). Moreover,

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Moreover, /109/ the latter author, on the basis of contributions to the first five volumes of the Handbook of South American Indians, drew up a distribution map for the occurrence of endocannibalism, which was supplemented by numerous examples (526). According to this, endocannibalism occurs in South American primarily in the western parts of the continent and among the marginal and submarginal tribes of the Tropical zone. This custom is particularly frequent among the Pano and Tukano /Tucano/. In most cases, besides the pulverized bones, which are mixed with chicha (for example, Pano and Tukano), water (for example, Tapuya), or a mash of Pará chestnuts (Moré Indians), the flesh is also eaten. The practice of the Surára, Pakidái, and Waiká, on the other hand, who consume only the cremated, pulverized bones, is very rarely found. The corresponding custom of the Sáliba, Guayupe, and Saé in Colombia is the most similar one. But in eastern Guiana, too, endocannibalism is widespread, for example, among the Karaiben /Carib/ Parukotó (527) and among the Arapium, a Tupi tribe in the vicinity of Santarem (528). Moreover, it is reported of the Kalina, Palikur, and Arawak that they consume cremated bones of the dead (529). Of the latter

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523b. Zerries, 1955a, p. 80.

524. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 664/65.

525. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

526. Zerries, 1955a, pp. 80/81.

527. Frikel, 1957, pp. 520 and 545.

528. Zerries, 1955a, p. 81.

529. de Goeje, 1943, p. 11.

Surara
Pakidai

/109 cont./

769 266 171 Ralegh also writes that they pound the bones to powder and consume them mixed with a beverage (530) (531), and the same has

530. Ralegh, 1848, p. 53.

531. Waitz, 1862, p. 388.

been attested to for the Mauhé (532).

532. von Martius, 1867, I, p. 404 A.

● 114 769 266 171 According to Whiffen, there is no endocannibalism at all in South America, for, according to his view, only vengeance against hostile tribes can be regarded as a motive for anthropophagy. "From all this," he continues, "it follows that intratribal cannibalism would be a criminal outrage by the tribe on itself, and therefore it could never occur that a member of the tribe was eaten, ... This disposes of any such thing as the eating of dead relatives as a sign of respect. These and similar statements are due to missapprehension /sic/ of facts by the writer, or a too hasty judgement on the part of the explorer" /cited in English/ (533). In conjunction with these devious

533. Whiffen, 1915, pp. 120/21.

statements by Whiffen with their completely unjustified criticism, I should like to cite a contribution concerning endocannibalism drawn up by Herbert Baldus and Emilio Willems (534):

534. This appeared in the eminently important, but long out of print, Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia /Dictionary of Ethnology and Sociology/, which came out shortly before World War II and is therefore, unfortunately, not available in most European libraries.

Surára
Pakidai

114 /109 cont./
769 /The long passage in Portuguese which follows on pp. 109-110
262 in the original source is omitted in the translation; see the
171 foreign text/ /110/ (535a).

535a. Baldus e Willems, 1939, pp. 40/41.

Most recently there appeared the commendable study by Boglár, "Ein endokannibalischer Ritus in Südamerika /An Endocannibalistic Rite in South America/," in which the author presents the material of several competent sources (535b). I

535b. Boglár, 1958, pp. 67-85.

cannot, however, agree with his interpretations in connection with them. The consumption of the bone powder of the deceased is by no means always to be associated with agricultural tribes, for, as my informants among the Surára and Pakidái explained to me, their forebears, who were pure hunters and gatherers, already practiced this custom. Also the author's view that the showing of respect, the magical transmission of good qualities, etc., can be regarded merely as secondary motives of the endocannibalistic rite (535c), do not apply to the

535c. Boglár, 1958, p. 83.

Surára and Pakidái; here they are decidedly primary. Among them the future life of the dead is assured by cremation, for with the ascending smoke the soul of the dead reaches the moon (see p. 151).

It should further be mentioned that endocannibalism is documented also for Central America, Mexico, and in one case in North America, but Beals regards it as a typical element of the South American Indians (536).

536. Beals, 1932, pp. 123/24.

Surára
Pakidái

/110 cont./

224 If the hunter accompanied by his wife has slain small game or a bird, the wife carries the hunting booty into the community /111/ house. If the man was alone, he brings the animal only to the entrance of his dwelling. It is taken inside by his wife or by another man. The same is true for big game, for example, a tapir, from which a few pieces of meat are first taken along; the rest is fetched later by friendly fellow tribesmen. Thus, the hunter may always carry his booty to the entrance of the maloka, but he may never go inside with it. He must also leave the evisceration of the animal to other men. Subsequently he may roast the meat, to be sure, but after it has been prepared, he is forbidden to eat the first morsel. When (782) he has finished his meal, he is obliged to pray anew by way of the hekurá to Poré and Perimbó, for the latter demand that one thank them for the hunting booty. If the hunter observes all these rules, the united Supreme Being and the hekurá will always be well-disposed toward him and will always provide for a successful outcome of the hunt.

224 171 114 Among many other tribes of South America there are the same or similar conceptions of hunting magic. I can here refer to Zerries, who has gathered together the pertinent source material and made a comparative study of it (537) (538). This shows that urucú is almost always used for the red coloring before the hunt. Métraux, however, mentions that the ancient Mocovi in the Gran Chaco smeared the snouts of their dogs with jaguar blood (539). From this Zerries draws the justifiable conclusion that urucú is a substitute for blood (540), which

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537. Zerries, 1951.

538. Zerries, 1954a.

539. Métraux, 1944, p. 283.

540. Zerries, 1954a, p. 22.

/111 cont./

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●114 [illegible]raux also documents for the Chiriguano (541).

541. Métraux, 1931, p. 154, footnote 1.

It should also be pointed out that the hunting rule so strictly observed by the Surára and Pakidái men, which says that a hunter may never carry his game into the *maloka* himself, can probably be traced back to Karaiben /Carib/ influences. In this connection Zerries speaks of propitiatory rites relating to the killed animal (542). According to his investigations, the

542. Zerries, 1954a, p. 359.

northern region of South America emerges as the nuclear area, where they are found primarily among Karaiben tribes of the Venezuelan coast and its hinterland (543). The author cites

543. Zerries, 1954a, pp. 136/37, 359/60.

Roth (544) and Crévaux (545) as the most important sources, as

544. Roth, 1915, p. 294.

545. Crévaux, 1883, p. 283.

well as the very old report by Rochefort (546), which shows that

546. Rochefort, 1658, p. 451.

even the Island Karaiben were acquainted with this custom.

832
[824] c) Love magic:

For the purpose of love magic, young men sometimes wear a *curauá*-fiber string around the neck, to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the *tajá* (*Colocasia antiquorum* and *Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott) -- *hauẽ* -- (see p. 83). If the

Surára
Pakidái

/112 cont./

782 with threads of Bromelia fibers. Such threads are also drawn [824] crisscross over the sticks, and on them are glued down-feathers [237] of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). The structure -- akuanobé --, which women and girls are not permitted to see, gives the effect of a man's head, in the hair of which are glued down-feathers of the gavião-real. By order of the chief, several warriors take this calabash into the forest and set it down in a particular spot.

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6. Birds as Transmitters of Messages

On May 21, 1956, in his maloka on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá, a Surára man, Honobomá, was engaged in a loud monologue which started about 4:00 in the morning and lasted until about 6:00; during this he was lying in his hammock. As to the meaning of this apparent monologue, ● [114] my little interpreter Jibeauwö afterwards gave me the following explanation: When Honobomá woke up, he heard the singing of the little bird kaukaumã, a japim (Cacicus cela L.), in which at the time, however, the soul of Porëhiwö, the war chief of the Pakidái, was to be found. The latter was living with his tribe in the /113/ maloka on the middle Demini. The soul in the little bird said that the Pakidái, after the festival in memory of the dead, had arrived safely at their communal house. At the same time it reported the course of the journey in detail, the hunting successes, and the planting of new banana trees and pupunha palms. Whenever the little bird interrupted its song for a time, Honobomá would tell it about how the Surára were getting along.

According to the belief of the two tribes, the little japim is a transmitter of messages, who reports illness and death, as well as military encounters with hostile tribes.

/117 cont./

XI. Reasoning Abilities

153 Among the Surára and Pakidái the memory is especially keen, both with respect to the myths and songs, religion, and tribal history, as well as with respect to the flora and fauna 000 and the peculiarities of a landscape (561). Their imitative

(114) 561. In this connection I should like to refer to a remark by Baldus: "By and large as far as the Indian's memory is concerned, he retains only what is useful on the phenominal level accessible to him. He will note each peculiarity of a landscape which he crosses, for that is necessary in order to find the way again and to be able to describe it to his companions. The much lauded 'sense of orientation' of the Indian is nothing but memory" (Baldus, 1931, p. 118).

123 Their imitative
153 talent is also noteworthy. For example, upon my arrival, writing and drawing seemed new and mysterious to the Indians. When I handed them my fountain pen and pencils and asked them to draw something, neither the children nor men and women managed to produce anything but the customary serpentine lines, circles, and dots which they otherwise draw with urucú on their bodies, faces, and utilitarian objects. But as soon as I drew trees, houses, and animals for them, they were able to copy these figures after a few attempts. They proved indefatigable in this, and once they had started, they did not want to stop at all. Nor was it long before they /118/ were able to copy letters and finally entire words (562) (563).

153
171 562. Baldus reports the same thing about the Indian tribes in the northeastern Chaco: "Once one has taught the Indians

Surára
Pakidái

/118 cont./

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752

564. (cont.)
Manoel Antonio Gómez, who succeeded in saving his life. The chief was said to have been very angry at first over the arbitrary action of the grandmother, but then, when he saw that the little one had recovered, he calmed down.

123 153 [179] Most men, after but a short time, had no difficulty handling our two guns; a few were soon even operating the outboard motor, and the Surára chief Hewemão, who showed great interest in my camera, took very acceptable pictures with it. 153 The reasoning power seems to be somewhat more strongly developed among the men than among the women (565).

● [114] [191]

565. This conclusion agrees with an observation by Baldus among the Tumerehã, and the scholar adds a remark which could also be applied to the Surára and Pakidái: "The differences in the talents of the sexes are perhaps the result of their way of life and division of labor. Thus, among the Tumerehã, the man's way of acquiring food has probably developed his acuteness, for he does not merely gather fruits, like the woman, but also goes hunting..." (Baldus, 1931, p. 119).

802 /119/ XII. Counting and Conception of Time

The Surára and Pakidái count only to three:

1 -- mahón
2 -- porokabõ
3 -- prukatabõ.

Surára
Pakidái

137
←

137
241
622
516
412
→

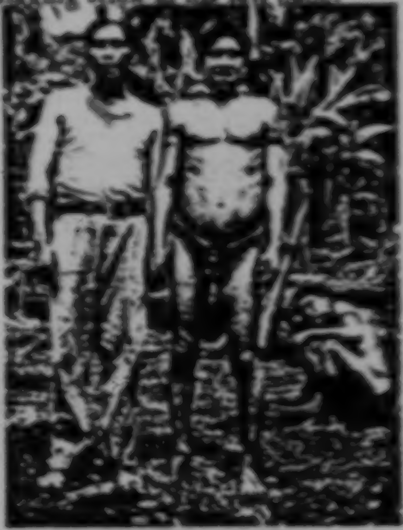
Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

Ill. 38. The Surára chief Hewemao doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand.

137
481
←

114
142
302
291
516
624
→

Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus



Ill. 40. Poréhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateus Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background.

/134/

114 During his stay among the Surára Indians, Hans Becher was able to compile an extensive vocabulary of their language. This still needs linguistic revision and further checking. Even now, however, it makes it possible to establish perfectly clearly the relationship of this language to the languages of the Waika /Waica/, Širiana /Shiriana/, and Karimé. There is a very close correlation, [101] apparent at first glance, which corresponds to the cultural unity of these Indian groups, whom Becher has classified under the name Yanonámi /Yanoama/.

The first vocabulary of a language of this group was published by Koch-Grünberg in 1913 and -- considerably expanded -- in 1928, and comes from the Širiana (Širianá) of the Uraricuera (and its tributary the Uraricapará) (1). In 1932 there appeared

1. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 458; 1928, pp. 302-308.

a vocabulary of the Karimé Indians of the Catrimani River compiled by G. Salathé (2). Further material was then published by

2. Salathé, 1932, pp. 314-316.

A. Vinci, who added to his travel account a vocabulary of the Warema-Širiana (or -Waika, listed by him as Uarema, Guaica and Sciriscianа) on the Merevari River (3). In 1954-55 O. Zerries

3. Vinci, 1956, pp. 354-357.

and M. Schuster collected as yet unpublished material among the Waika of the upper Orinoco, and in 1956 Becher presented his vocabulary from the Surára and a number of expressions from the Pakidái. This, to my knowledge, is all that is known about these languages at present.

114
197 As early as 1913 Koch-Grünberg found that Širiana was independent of the neighboring Karaiben /Carib/ languages and apparently isolated (4). The latter view was adopted in 1924 by

4. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 455.

/134 cont./

114
197
Rivet, who at that time set up in his classification of the American languages a Širianã linguistic family which included the Širiana and Waika (5). W. Schmidt, who was familiar with the larger Širiana vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg, still unpublished at that time, was of the same opinion and wrote in 1926 that the language of the Širiana (Schiriana) "forms an isolated group along with those of the nearby Waika" (6). C. Loukotka, who took over the revision and further working out of the classification from Rivet, retains the Širianã linguistic family, but adds to it Karimẽ, which has meanwhile become known, and Pusarakaũ, which is merely mentioned, but is unknown linguistically (7). Waika was also still undocumented at that time, but its inclusion in the family resulted from the assertion by Koch-Grünberg that "the language of the very light-colored Waíka is very closely related to the Schirianã" (8).

This assertion is now fully confirmed by the Waika notes of Zerries and Schuster. Up to the present time, however, the Pusarakaũ has remained unconfirmed. The last version of the classification by Rivet and Loukotka, which appeared in 1952, introduces no change in the Širiana family (9).

J. A. Mason, in his comprehensive revision of the classification of South American languages undertaken for the Handbook of South American Indians, acknowledges the Širiana linguistic family

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5. Rivet 1924, p. 678.

6. Schmidt, 1926, p. 221.

7. Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9.

8. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 455.

9. Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140.

/134 cont./

114 197 (for him Shirianã, Shirianãn), but disregards the unknown Pusarakaũ (10). His attempt at a classification of this family, in

10. Mason, 1950, p. 254.

which he subordinates the Waika (Waicã) to the Širiana (Shirianã) /135/ and contrasts the two, put together as Waharibo (Guaharibo), Karimẽ (Carimẽ) (11), remains questionable (cf. p. 7). It has

11. Ibid.

been taken over and expanded by N. A. McQuown, however, whereby he again introduces the unknown Pusarakaũ and adds a questionable, likewise linguistically unknown Guaharibo (12).

12. McQuown, 1955.

114 104 197 Since in McQuown's work the classification is not clear, I am giving it here in the form of a table, in which I am retaining the not always fortunate orthography of McQuown:

Z. 15. CHIRIANAN.
  a. Guahariban. Ven. Br.
    α. Chiriana (861). N2-4° W61-64°30' Br.
    β. Uaica (860). N1°30'-2° W62-4°, N3°30' W63°30', N4° W62°† Br.; N2-3° W64°, N3° W65° Ven.
    γ.? Guaharibo (495). N3° W65° Ven. Br.
  b. Carime (845). N4° W64° Br.
  c. Pusaracau (844). N3° W64°? Br.

"Ven." means Venezuela, "Br." Brazil; the numbers in parentheses after the names of languages refer to McQuown's place-maps; the other data are the geographical co-ordinates of the places where the languages are spoken or (if followed by †) were spoken (in this connection it should be noted that Karimẽ erroneously appears on the north bank of the Uraricuera instead of on the Catrimani, considerably to the south of it [approximately N1°30' W62°30']).

/135 cont./

114 197 Rivet, Schmidt, Loukotka, Mason, and McQuown all agree in regarding the Širiana family as a more or less closed group for which it has not been possible to determine any closer relationship with other American linguistic families. On the other hand, Swadesh, in his most recent contribution to the classification of American languages, sets up a "Makro-Širiana" group (for him macro-siriana), which includes, besides the Širiana family (for him sirisana), also the Čapakura family (chapakura) (13). This quite unexpected linkage, if it could be proved, would certainly raise very interesting and important questions for linguistics and ethnology, for the Čapakura family is found in the Guaporé basin, where it extends approximately between the tenth and sixteenth degrees south latitude over an axis formed by the 63rd degree west longitude. I therefore pursued the possibility of such a relationship and compared the languages of the Širiana family with those of the Čapakura. Although in the process nine Čapakura languages were considered (14), a lexical relationship between the two linguistic families could not be established. Since Swadesh has not yet published any material as evidence for the relationship suggested by him (15), his results cannot yet be evaluated in a case such as the present one. On the basis of my own investigation,

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13. Swadesh 1959, p. 20.

14. Čapakura, Kitemoka, Napeka, Pawumwa, Iten, Moré, Kumaná, Wanyam, and Kabiší.

15. Swadesh is preparing to publish this evidence soon under the title "Materiales para un diccionario comparativo de las lenguas amerindias /Material for a Comparative Dictionary of Amerindian Languages/"; cf. Swadesh, 1959, pp. 8-9.

/135 cont./

114 197 however, *Čiriana* and *Čapakura* are still to be regarded as two independent linguistic groups.

128 197 In the following, only a small selection of Surára words are offered, along with the corresponding words of *Waika* (according to Schuster) (16), *Karimé* (according to Salathé, 1932), *Širianá* (according to Koch-Grünberg, 1928), and *Warema* (according to Vinci, 1956), in order to illustrate the close relationship that exists between these languages. The chief criterion for the selection was the availability of documented forms in the five languages; moreover, care was also taken to draw on words of a "non-cultural" nature for the most part, that is, /136/ those that are not so frequently taken over by neighboring languages and thus -- if agreeing morphologically and in meaning -- represent stronger proof of the genetic relationship of the languages compared. 114 Becher's linguistic notes were made chiefly with *Surára* informants; for the designations of body parts, however, there were also additional forms (marked by *P*) which a Pakidâi informant gave him.

104 194 The transcription of the five lists has been standardized; that of *Karimé* has also been simplified somewhat by the fact that two *h* and *š* sounds not adequately described by Salathé have been reproduced simply as *h* and *š*. With respect to the transcription, the following should be noted: *ë* = middle, back (or central), unrounded vowel; *ī* = high, back (or central), unrounded vowel; *ã*, etc. = nasal vowel; ɛ = open *e*; *š* = unvoiced, alveopalatal fricative; *x* = unvoiced, palatal fricative; ? = glottal stop; : = length for the previous sound.

[122] 16. My sincerest thanks are due Herr Dr. Meinhard Schuster, Frankfurt, for the willingness with which he put at my disposal an excerpt of the *Waika* linguistic material that he is working on.

/137/

192
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	Surára and *Pakidái*	*Waika*	*Karimé*	*Širiana*	*Warema*
Deer	*hayá*	*háya*	*hdia*	*haitxa*	*aʔsá*
Maracajá	*yaó*	*gidanáni*	*yauesẽ*	*txáo*	*hiʔdananí* (puma)
Cutia	*tómã*	*tómĩ*	*uašóro*	*tó:mẽ*	
Paca	*amuiá*	*amóia*		*amõia*	*amoiá*
Mutum	*parurí*	*báluli*	*pá:ri*	*bá:li*	*palulí*
Jacamim	*nyapín*	*yápi*	*yá:pĩ*		
Jacaré	*iwá*	*íwa*	*uári*	*wá:li*	*iuadamá*
Fish	*yu:rí*	*yúli*	*yúri*	*maytéli-tép(i)na*	*ẽhmá:*
Crayfish	*okó*	*óko*		*ó:ko*	
Banana	*kuratá*	*kuratá*	*kura:tá*	*halatá:ke*	*ukumatadé*

192 The languages have been arranged in such a way that those which
197 seem to be nearest to the Šurára lexically follow it directly, and those
128 which differ from it the most come last. This gradation of similarity
with respect to the Surára is given here, however, only on the basis of
impressionistic findings, which, furthermore, rest only on an examination
of language samples containing the above 40 words. It is therefore not
a reliable basis for a linguistic classification of the entire group, though
one may see in it an indication of the relationships of the individual
● [114] languages to each other. In any case, support for the classifications of
Mason and McQuown (pp. 1-3) cannot be drawn from it. /The
000 bibliography on pp. 137-138 of the original source is omitted in
the translation; see the foreign text./

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● 114
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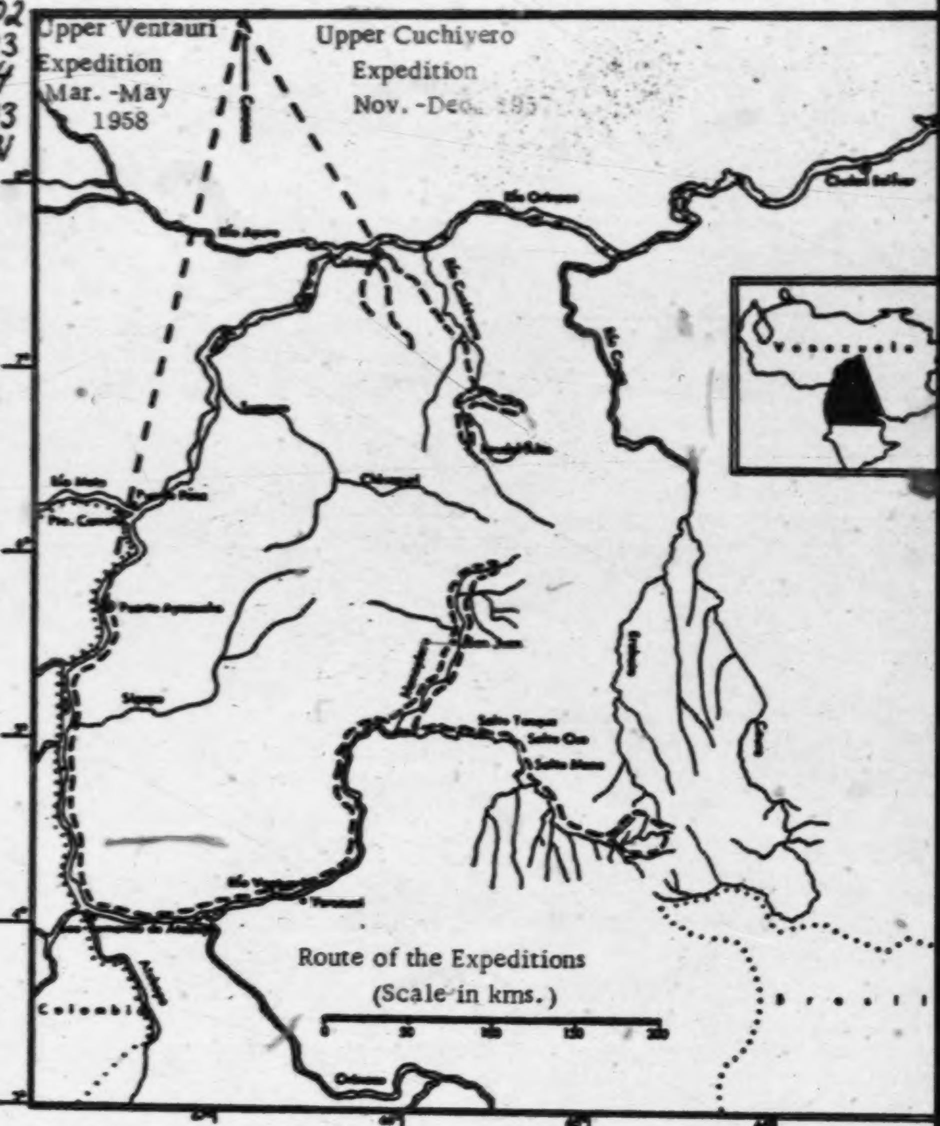
Upper Ventauri
Expedition
Mar.-May
1958
Upper Cuchivero
Expedition
Nov.-Dec. 1957
Río Orinoco
Río Apure
Venezuela
Colombia
Brasil
Route of the Expeditions
(Scale in kms.)
0
50
100
150
200

Map 1. Route of the expeditions.

Guahibo SC14
Yabarana SS22 & Saliva SS15
Makiritare SS20 Panare SS21

M /13 cont./
101 searching primarily for a new source of food and not so much
for a better means of communication. The typical Venezuelan
Caribe, at least at the present time, is a man who loves land
P (Pemón, Cariña, Panare, Yabarana, Yupa), and the Makiritare,
& river men, represent an exception among them.

Y Ya According to the relative importance which the river has
M among the different tribes, nuclei of them are found along the
361 principal aquatic arteries, such as those of the Makiritare, or at a
distance from them, on the tributaries and headwaters, as among
the Panare, Yabarana, Guahibo, and Sanemá. This circumstance
Y is of the utmost importance for the study of these Indians. The
Ya farther away they live from the river, the more difficult it is to
[128] make contact and to live with them. Thus the Panare are even
less known than are the Makiritare and the Piaroa, and we are
P presenting in the present report the first relatively ample informa-
Y tion on the Sanemá and Yabarana. /14/ /Map appears here./

114 /15/ The three weeks which we spent among the Panare were
very laborious, and the time among the Sanemá was very hard
physically.

Y In spite of these difficulties, which in comparison with
122 those of a voyage at the beginning of the century are insignifi-
cant, the zone is open for any type of communication. One can
P go by airplane to Caicara, Puerto Ayacucho, San Juan de
122 Manapiare, and Cucurí (between the Tenqua and Oso Falls). Thus,
for a special study of the Panare one can go from Caracas to Caicara
S on a flight of a few hours and then continue by jeep and arrive
122 on the same day at the first bohio of the Panare. In order to
Ya study the Piaroa, one goes by airplane as far as Puerto Ayacucho
122 and then on by foot or by curiara. The Yabarana can be visited
in the dry season, going by regular flight to Puerto Ayacucho and
from there to San Juan de Manapiare by a flight lasting 30 minutes
Y in a small plane. One reaches the houses of the Yabarana on
M the same say, and in two days more the "Monteros," the most
122 autochthonous of this tribe. In order to reach Makiritare terri-
tory and the Sanemá of the upper Ventuari, one goes by airplane
to Puerto Ayacucho on a regular flight and then on to Cacurí
on a flight lasting 50 minutes more or less in a small plane. In

[text continues on p. 6]

Venezuelan Indians 554

V /19 cont./

137
[133] traveler, they usually indicate an obstacle, even in dry seasons.

The hygrophilous selvas, constantly green (tropical rain forest), are made up of trees from 20-50 meters in height, intertwined with lianas and epiphytes. The trunks on occasion measure over two meters in diameter, and once in a while they have tabular roots. Among the characteristic species are found: Anacardium rhinocarpus, Terminalia amazonica, Philodendron bipinnatum, Sterculia apetala, Basiloxylon brasiliensis, Astronium graveolens, Brosinum spec., Pouteria spec., Guarea spec., Carapa guianensis, Mora excelsa, Bertholletia excelsa, Hevea benthamiana, and Ochroma lagopus.

In the Venezuelan region of Guayana it is difficult to make a distinction between the zones of hygrophilous selvas and the deciduous mesophilous forests. In Venezuela the deciduous mesophilous forests occupy the most extensive part of all the forest zones. Owing to the dry season, this type of forest has a smaller number of species than the hygrophilous selvas. The trees attain a height between 20-40 meters, and lianas are less abundant than in the hygrophilous forests. Among the important species in the deciduous forests of our region are found: Cedrela mexicana (cedar), Swietenia macrophylla (mahogany), Anacardium rhinocarpus (mijao) Mombacopsis sepium (saquisaqui); Spondias mombin (jobo), Samanea saman (saman) and Tabebuia pentaphylla (apamate) (Hueck, 1960).

X
V

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127 As we have already indicated in the preface /untranslated/, the present book is the result of a report on two trips and of a bibliographical study of the extant data on the zone visited (cf. map: Route of the expedition /see p. 3 /). Although it is true that no monographic work has yet been written for any of the tribes of the Orinoco-Ventuari region, it is also true that the great number of articles which have been published on the Indians of that zone is surprising. The material is primarily descriptive, but since they often describe for us aspects of native life which have now disappeared or changed, the general material of these authors is of great value and interest.

Y V 127 128

/19 cont./

In the present report we use most of the extant data, and their compilation, ordering, and selection, together with our own personal contribution, constitute the study which we present here on the Indians of this part of Venezuela.

● Y V 114 128 [113]

For our purpose we followed the footsteps of the great Venezuelan ethnologist, Lisandro Alvarado, who, with the publication of his book, Datos Etnográficos de Venezuela /Ethnographic Data of Venezuela/, took a firm step toward the great task of compiling /20/ all the objective material written over the course of many decades regarding the native tribes of this part of the world (2).

Y V [113]

2. Obras completas de Lisandro Alvarado /Complete Works of Lisandro Alvarado/, Vol. 4 (Ministerio de Educación, Dirección de Cultura y Bellas Artes). Caracas, 1956.

Y V 128

Our report lacks uniformity with regard to the character and volume of material on the various tribes to which we refer, but this fact reflects precisely our present sporadic knowledge concerning the tribes, which, in the last phase of their autochthonous life, urgently invite the competent ethnologist to leave testimony of a human conglomerate of our ancient American continent. /Maps 5 and 6 appear here. Pages 21-176 are not included in the translation./

/177/

The Sanemá

101 The word Sanemá appears here as the designation for a subtribe of the Yanoama. The Sanemá were called Guaharibo and were sometimes confused also with the Shirishana /Shiriana/.

The terms Guaharibo and Shirishana (written with abusive orthographic freedom) lack proper sense when applied to the Sanemá, and they must not, as has heretofore happened, be applied to this tribe or to the peripheral bands, who accepted them as designations used by the Whites (Guaharibo) and by the Makiritare (Shirishana).

The name Guaharibo, like Macú and Tapuya, is a vague and collective designation which includes many primitive tribes and which, therefore, has little classificatory value and will not stand up to scientific and impartial criticism.

The term Shirishana, for its part, seems to us to be a nickname rather than a generic denomination, since it means "araguato monkey" and is used by the Caribe in a contemptuous tone when they refer to the Sanemá, whom they consider to be subhuman beings born from the dust of their shadows. The name also lends itself easily to confusion with the Crichaná of the Ianaperi River and of Caribe affiliation.

For the above-mentioned reasons we prefer the term Sanemá which means "people," to that of Guaharibo, which is equivalent to "savage," or to Shirishana, "araguato monkey." This preference has more scientific aspects and more human respect.
●[114] It would seem that the term Yanoama was introduced into ethnographic literature by Zerries (1956a, p. 187) and was accepted quite rightly, by Schuster (1958, p. 115) and Becher (1960, p. 6) as a generic name for the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, Samatari, Surara, and Pakidai.

128
101 In the present treatise we shall consider the Yanoama as a tribe, not so much in the politico-social sense, as in the linguistic-cultural sense, since the Yanoama, in general, represent a specific culture made up /178/ /map appears here/ /179/ of the various peculiar subcultures of the diverse subtribes which live in a coherent territory, which speak closely related languages, and possess essentially similar economic and sociological forms.

000 /182 cont./
Y 648 the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía. The Yanoama,
however, by their own strength, were able to contain the advance
of the Caribe in the northeastern part of their territory.

M Y The massacre of the Indians to which we have made reference
114 above was pointed out by Schomburgk (1841), who visited
648 this land around 1839, /183/ and his data constitute the first
report regarding the Yanoama of the north. Schomburgk had
crossed the Sierra Pacarima when, on the way to the sources of
the Orinoco, he found the Makiritare in the grip of great panic.
The Yanoama, possibly a group of Waica, had killed a number
of Makiritare who had been on their way to the Yanoama rancherias
in order to establish commercial relations with them. A
short time after that horrible massacre, the same Yanoama
M attacked a Makiritare rancheria with the intent of exterminating
[361] all its inhabitants. This event marked the date of the withdrawal
[67] of all the Makiritare south of this zone. Even the Caribe companions
who were with Schomburgk accompanied them on their
flight, abandoning him with his baggage a short distance from
the sources of the Orinoco. It is easy to understand Schomburgk's
emotional state, bordering on desperation, on finding himself so
close to his goal without being able to reach it.

Y On the upper Uraricuera, in the region of the Sierra
114 Marutani, Schomburgk came upon a conuco /cultivated area/ of
the "Kirishanas," whom he described as nomad Indians who depended
primarily on hunting, fishing, and the gathering of wild
fruits for their basic sustenance; some, however, cultivated small
plantings of bitter yuca and peppers (Schomburgk, 1841, p. 417).
Seventy-two years after this first report, Koch-Grünberg, in
December of 1911, once again established brief communication
with the Yanoama of this zone, and his information constituted,
until a few years ago, the most important material on the
Yanoama in general. Koch-Grünberg met representatives of two
Y distinct groups. The first group (Casapare), which he found at the
[131] Purumamé Falls, lived at that time on the upper Uraricapará,
[167] although it had only recently arrived in that region from the
Y Uraricuera, above the island of Maraca. That was the place where
[721] they took by surprise all the Indians whom they robbed and killed.

Casapare
Pemon 55/6

P
Y /183 cont./
648 At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of
439 the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that
P about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one
[131] captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring
Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European
Y 241 utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating
174 small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of
Caribe origin.

Y Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish
● 114 the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same
192 author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished
174 in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost
all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or
European origin.

Y 114 The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg
four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with
Y whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the
[648] Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the
[177] Aurí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements,
Y such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this
[197] group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by
his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with
slight dialectal differences.

Y The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent
167 date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua,
648 as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and
allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It
Y seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the
[131] Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the
P Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of
131 the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have
[167] vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their
P nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern
177 797 part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and
161 the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

Casapare
Cariban Indians SR7
Auake 555

A /186 cont. /
131 cf. idem, 1922, p. 226) was visited on the Urumamy Falls by
175 a small group of Auaké (Arutani), who pointed out to the ex-
plorer that their land was on the source of the Paragua, where
A [169] they had a communal house. But even by that time the Auaké
A (Arutani) had left their southern haunts to the Casapare and had
Y migrated to the north. But a large number merged with the
[619] Casapare, and it is very likely that the Arutani of the upper
Paragua represent the last vestiges of the Auaké.

A It is useful to stress the fact that both tribes, the Sapé and
101 the Arutani, belong among the primitive groups of South
174 America, and that their idioms constitute independent languages.
648 [199] They have very probably served as buffers between the Caribe
and the Yanoama, and while the former pushed them from the
C Paragua to the south, the latter absorbed them or displaced them
648 toward the north. The Caribe have had the same function in
more recent times, when they were destroyed between the frontiers
of white civilization and that of the Yanoama, and today only
a few vestiges of these tribes remain.

A Regarding the idioms of the Sapé (Kaliana) and Arutani
197 (Auaké), it is interesting to point out that Loukotka (1935) found
194 Chibcha vestiges in the Auaké and the Kaliana. If we consider
that the Yanoama are related to the Warao and that both have
a relatively low cultural level, it is possible to believe in a sub-
stratum of marginal tribes with a Chibcha linguistic affiliation,
to which the present Warao, Sapé, Arutani, and Yanoama tribes
may possibly belong. We shall go into this interesting topic in
the section which describes some of the linguistic aspects of the
Yanoama /see pp. 38 ff. /.

Y The most recent information that we have regarding the
● 114 Casapare was submitted by the previously mentioned Capuchin
fathers, Armellada and Matallana (1942), by Gheerbrandt (1955),
and by Montoya (1958).

Y The expedition of the Capuchin fathers was undertaken in
114 1940 with the intention of completing a missionary report on
797 the river and its native population. They went out in search of
162 men, and their conclusion that the Paraguá, apart from being
a dangerous river and difficult to navigate, did not have large

Avake 555

/186 cont./

Y 114 797 162 indigenous groupings is interesting. In their report (1942, p. 87) they mention a total number of 296 Indians counted.

Y 162 167 114 /187/ This result contrasts with the one obtained by the expedition of Montoya, and, in spite of his having traveled over much more territory than the Capuchin fathers, we must admit that Montoya found native populations in 1956 where the fathers saw none in 1940. This has its value in the first place inasmuch as it refers to Yanoama populations (Casapare, Sanemá), and it is significant for the reconstruction of the migratory history of the Yanoama. Y [361] Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 76) say that a rancheria near the mouth of the Pumpirí, a river which flows into the Paragua on the right bank, was "the only one which the Shiriana Indians have on the Venezuelan side in the Paragua basin." Twenty-six years later Montoya (1956) and his companions discovered Yanoama rancherias established from the Marí River to the headwaters of the Paragua. This indicates that the expansion of the Casapare and Sanemá is of very recent date in this zone of the Paragua and that it achieved its present volume only in the last decades. A [167] [648] The marginal tribes, such as the Sapé and Arutani, have been pushed toward the north and are in the process of being absorbed by the Yanoama in the south and by the Caribe and the Whites in the north.

Y 101 Referring to the Yanoama of the Paragua, Montoya distinguishes the Guaharibo, Guaika, and Shirianna. According to his excellent map, the Guaharibo and the Guaica live between the upper Caura and the headwaters of the Paragua itself and the river Okasiarí. It is possible that these are the Sanemá and Waica. The Shirianna occupy the Paragua River from the Marí River to the source of the Paramichí River, and these seem to represent the Casapare of our nomenclature. The region of the greatest penetration by the latter into Venezuelan territory seems to be via the Sharopae River (3° 50') from where the route to the Uraricuera River starts.

Y 491 241 According to Montoya (1958, pp. 173-174), the Guaharibo (Sanemá) are almost totally ignorant of agriculture and cross rivers by means of their characteristic bridges, which consist simply of two thick lianas, parallel and one above the other, the upper one serving as a handrail.

/187 cont./

105 [181] [241] [245] [269] The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

[286] [342] [411] [491] [494] Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

[361] [241] [484] [439] [411] /188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista." [142] [146] They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they [illegible] tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

114 101 The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648 Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extent data offer no certainty in this regard.

Makiritare SS 20

M
Y /190 cont./
648 scorn them, and, at first sight, they seemed to be unworried,
but the knowledge that they no longer live alone in the land of
their fathers, and the fact of having heard that four days prior
to our arrival /191/ at the conuco an Indian who had sought
refuge by climbing a tree was shot by a Sanemá arrow and fell
M
Y lifeless into the river, constantly tortured them.

582 A powerful stimulus which always encouraged the Makiritare
563 on their numerous trips was to get a wife among their neighbors
177 of the same tribe. Nowadays, despite the intense scorn which the
648 Makiritare profess toward the Yanoama, taking a wife from that
M tribe is not considered an impossible or degrading thing; there
[186] are many Yanoama women who have married Makiritare men
(cf. Grelier, 1955b, p. 10). This matrimonial interchange inevitably
carries with it an assimilation of cultures between the two
tribes, a process in which the Makiritare cultural pattern will
Y dominate that of the Yanoama and the Yanoama genes will
167 infiltrate the Makiritare gene pool. There is not the least doubt
563 but that the Sanemá, who were brought in for a short time, arrived
177 at the upper Ventuari and Caura where they took up residence
648 to stay, and that the present fusion between the Caribe
and the Yanoama ought not to be explained so much by the good
Y will of the former as by the vitality of the latter.

101 The Waica subtribe occupies the central part of the present
Yanoama territory, that of the upper Orinoco and its tributaries
above the mouth of the Ocamo, including also the southern bank
of the river (Barker, 1953, p. 434). As we have already mentioned,
they appear to live also in the general arc of the upper
Rio Branco and its western tributaries, and Schuster (1958, p. 114)
is very probably right when he says that the Sierra Parima does not
Y bound the Waica zone, but that it extends to Brazilian territory.

177 We have already mentioned the first contacts which the
797 Whites had with the Waica, and, after a somewhat unfruitful effort
by Hamilton Rice at the beginning of the present century, the
Waica world went without contact with science until the New
Y Tribes Mission was able to start peaceful relations with the Waica
● 114 through the missionary James Paul Barker. Some ethnographic
data were also published on this Yanoama subtribe by several

/191 cont./
●114 members of the Franco-Venezuelan Expedition to the Upper Orinoco
(1951) (cf. Grelier, 1955b; Anduze, 1958). Finally the Waica
were studied between April of 1954 and August of 1955 by the
German ethnologists Zerries and Schuster, who are preparing a
monograph on this Yanoama subtribe.

101 The southernmost groups of the Yanoama are known as
114 Xamatari, Araraibo (Seitz, 1960), Surara and Pakidai (Becher,
1960). The latter presented a very extensive study based on the
experiences that he had during the nine months (October 1955--
June 1956) that he lived among them.

101 Because of the lack of comparative data, we have con-
128 sidered all these /192/ local groups as parts of a Samatari (people
of the tapir) subtribe who represent a very autocthonous entity
of the Yanoama. We would give warning, however, that this
classification is subject to future changes, as is also the map of
Yanoama distribution which we have just discussed.

126 The linguistic material which the author of the present
192 work was able to assemble during his stay among the Sanemá
consists of a vocabulary of the Nabudub, who live on the upper
Ventuari, and of the Sanemá of the upper Caura. The former
vocabulary contains 270 words, and the latter, 730 entries
(Wilbert, 1961b).

128 In order to classify this material within the different
192 Yanoama idioms, we compared the two vocabularies with others
174 belonging to various Yanoama languages, and in this way we
197 established, insofar as we were able, a basic vocabulary, calcu-
lating the minimum distances existing between them, according
to the glottochronological method.

192 We have indicated that the Nabudub and Sanemá vocabu-
197 laries were compiled by the author. The vocabulary of the
174 Pubmatari (Sanemá of the Canaracuní) comes from Vinci (1956,
126 pp. 351-357). This vocabulary has a total of 278 words, 73
127 of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. According to
what the author says on pages 159 (1956) and 133 (1959), this is
most probably a Pubmatari vocabulary.

/194 cont./

174 Uraricuera and on the southern slopes of the Sierra
197 de Parima;

101 b) Karime (or Shauári), on the Catemany River in the same region;

c) Waika, who live on the upper Ocamo and Mocajahy, right tributaries of the upper Orinoco;

d) Pusárakáu, an unknown wild tribe which lives in the Sierra Parima.

174 As we mentioned above, we are inclined to differentiate
197 between Shirishana (Casapare) and Guaharibo (Sanemá), which
would seem to be linguistically justified by the distance of 23-
[127] 35 mc between them. Rivet bases his opinion, it would seem, on Koch-Grünberg's material (1928), which we have also used in our comparison. The Pusárakáu idiom (d), which also appears in Loukotka's classification (1944, pp. 8-9), is a completely unknown idiom and therefore does not figure in Mason's classification (1950, p. 254), which presented the following Shirishaná grouping:

SHIRISHANÁ

[01] A.--Waharibo (Guaharibo)

1. Shirianá
    - a) Waicá (Guaica, Uaica)

B.--Carimé (Karimé)

174 According to Mason, Shirianá and the less important Carimé
197 are the principal idioms of the family. This observation is based
114 upon Koch-Grünberg's material (1928, Shiriana), which was
identified in our comparison as Casapare, and, as the greater separation of the Yanoama stock corresponds to that language, we must admit the value of Mason's opinion. Carimé does not figure in our classification.

Furthermore, Mason is of the opinion that the Waica idiom is, possibly, a dialect of Shirianá (Casapare), but, according to the glottochronological calculation, he does not seem to be on firm ground. The distance between the two idioms is 21 mc, which is much greater than a dialectal difference of 5-7 mc. Waica appears on the graph as closer to Sanemá (17-18mc). The opinion of /195/ many researchers that Shirianá (Casapare) and Waica are descended from the Guaharibo (Sanemá) seems to have some justification.

/195 cont. /

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McQuown (1955) classified the "Chirianan" family in the following way:

a) Guaharibas with Chirianas, Uaica and ? Guaharibo; b) Carime; c) Pmaracau.

A more recent classification of the Yanoama family was made by Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137). By their internal distances the author just mentioned brought together the various Yanoama idioms in the following manner: Surara and Pakidai (Samatari), Waika, Karimé, Shirianá (Casapare), Warema (Sanemá, Pubmatari) (19).

19. The names in parenthesis were added by the present author.

Dall'Igna Rodrigues arrived at this result on the basis of a comparison of 40 words of the idioms mentioned and explains that the idioms of his list were arranged according to the relative distance between each one of them with respect to Surara and Pakidai. He also emphasizes the provisional nature of his result, somewhat different from those presented by Mason and McQuown.

It is interesting, however, to observe that the classification of Dall'Igna Rodrigues coincides in its details with ours. On adding the lexico-statistical data, the classification would read as follows:

Surará-Pakidai (Samatari); 8 mc > Waica; 21mc > Shirishaná (Casapare); 21-25 mc > Warema (Sanemá).

Two American linguists, Greenberg and Swadesh, recently broke with the tradition established by Rivet, W. Schmidt, Loukotka, Mason, and McQuown, according to which the Yanoama had no close affiliation with any other South American linguistic family.

Greenberg (1956) classifies the Shirianá as a distinct group in the "Chibchan proper" subfamily of the "Macro Chibchan" family. The Tunebo also belong to the same category.

Swadesh (1959, p. 20) established a Macro-Siriana, with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc) and

/195 cont./

● 114 Sirisana (21 mc). According to what Dr. Swadesh said to me
174 personally, he also planned to include the Warao in Macro-
197 Siriana, which would magnify the internal divergence of the
group to 72 mc of a microphylum. I took some interest in this
suggestion by Swadesh and tried to compare Warao with Yanoama,
particularly with the more extensive vocabulary which I collected
among the Sanemá.

I made two comparisons: a) that of the basic vocabularies, and b) that of all the possible pairs between the Sanemá vocabulary and the Warao /196/ dictionary by Barral (1957). The results of these comparisons can be expressed in the following manner: More than 20% of all the pairs compared seem to be related, a sufficiently high percentage to stimulate a more thorough linguistic study. The result of the preliminary glottochronological calculation gave a separation between the two idioms of 45 mc corresponding to 28% of common retentions.

I have the impression that that mathematical result tends to diminish and not to become greater as one goes further into his study. We also observed certain relationships between the Yanoama and the Ye /Ge/ of Brazil. But these are of a different nature and more distant than the cases considered between the Warao and Sanemá.

As we have already mentioned, there are certain indications that the Tunebó, Warao, Yanoama, and Ye idioms seem to have a common root in Chibcha and are linguistically more closely related among themselves than with the majority of South American idioms.

4: Wilbert--50 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Chibcha SC11
Sanema
Warao SS18
Bari SS 13

/198/ Cariban Ind. SR7

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At the beginning of the year 1961 I had an opportunity, together with Dr. Layrisse, to visit the Waica of the upper Orinoco, where we went with the intention of taking blood samples of that group. We obtained 140 individual samples, which, in all probability, are representative for the Yanoama in general. We shall now report an interesting genetic discovery.

Y
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The Waica showed a complete absence of the gene Diego (Di^a). As we reported before (Layrisse, Wilbert, 1960), the antigen Diego is an exclusively Mongoloid genetic marker, but, in spite of the fact that it occurs solely in populations called "Mongoloid," it does not appear in all of them. There are Diego-positive Mongoloids and Diego-negative Mongoloids. Gradual differences of frequency between one Mongoloid population and another have also been observed. Up to the present the scale of frequency varies between 0 and 50%.

4C
8
[143]

The Waica are one of the Diego-negative Mongoloid populations, and the tribes of South America in the same category are: the Tunebo, Barí (Motilones Bravos), and Warao. Other groups with very low incidence could be included in this category also, since the low frequency they showed for the gene can be better explained by the crossing of a population originally negative with another one highly positive. A representative of the latter group is the tribe of the Yaruro.

Y
CI
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During the six years of research on the Diego gene we made an observation which we consider to be of importance, which is: the various frequency groups of the Diego antigen correspond to different linguistic affinities. The most carefully studied case is that of the Caribe. We examined more than ten tribes and subtribes and they all show an average of 28% of the Di^a gene. In this case the Caribe linguistic affinity is indicatory for a positive incidence of the Di^a gene. It is understood, of course, that there is no causal relationship between these two facts and that its observation is not to be interpreted in the sense that we are trying to make a chromosome responsible for a given cultural trait. The two factors are essentially different, but their parallel appearance is an interesting fact.

262 /207 cont./
223 it answers that it is an enemy is he to kill it. In the majority of
825 cases it turns out to be an enemy, and the hunter kills it with a
double aim: to have meat and to cause an enemy to disappear.
The hunter carries the eagle home, and his wife prepares it for
[514] food. Those who eat the meat must not defecate on the ground,
[785] but only in the water. The hunter himself must not eat any of
this meat and fasts for two months. The eagle "weighs heavily"
on his chest, and only when it has "gone upwards" does the
hunter get better and begin to feel well again. From now on
those who have eaten of the meat may live without taking the
above-mentioned precautions (22).

22. See the section which deals with "war" /see p. 57 /.

825 It might be said that for every Sanemá rancheria there exists a rancheria of eagles and of hanekasá. This belief has characteristics of the idea of the alter ego, and the Sanemá apply kinship terms to these animals when they speak to them. The same occurs with regard to jaguars and other animals which they mentioned to us vaguely.

226 Fishing plays a very secondary role in the Sanemá economy.
[433] They fish with barbasco, with bow and arrow, but we have not
seen special arrows for this purpose. In recent times they have
adopted fishhooks, which they now use quite frequently.

222 /208/ Of secondary importance, coming after hunting, is
the gathering of various kinds of small animals, insects, wild fruit,
[527] and also honey and eggs. The shoots of palms represent an important part of the diet, but above all the fruit of the pijiguao
palm (Guilielma sp.), the harvest of which, during the first three
months of the year, marks the time of festivities and other social
● [114] activities. We were not able to gather much information from
the Sanemá regarding this matter, but Barker (1953, pp. 447-48),
Zerries (1955b), and Becher (1960) refer to this festive occasion
in greater detail, according to their observation of it among
the Waica, Pakidai, and Surara (cf. Vinci, 1959, pp. 111-118).

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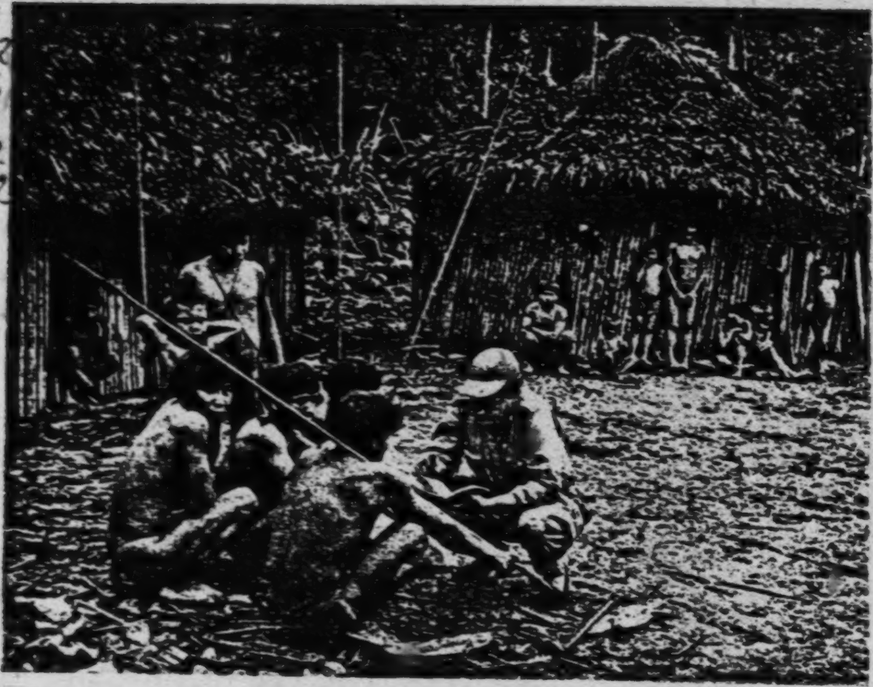

The author with a group of Sanemá on the upper Ventuari.

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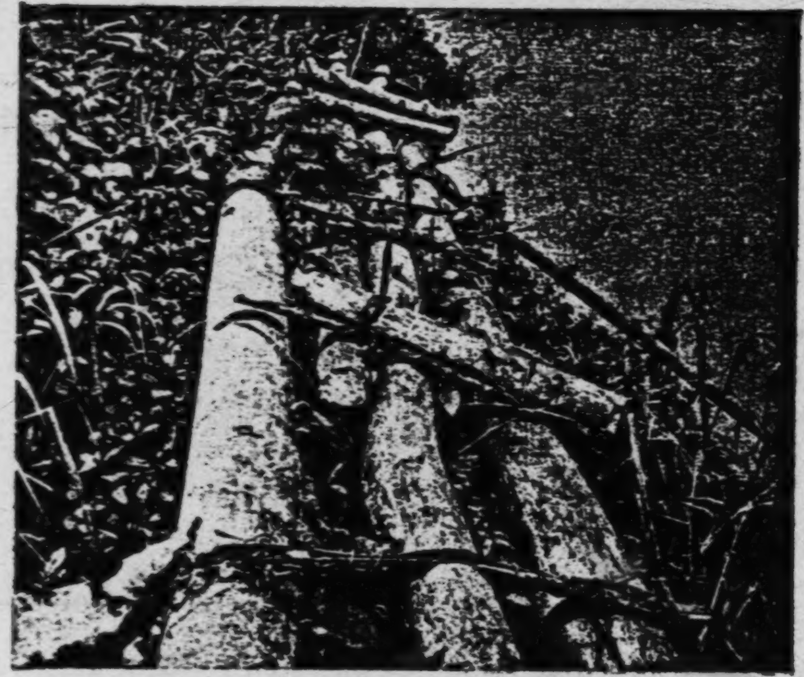

Sanemá raft.

/223 cont./

776 The Great Jaguar has certain relations with Omao, the
793 deified hero of the Sanemá, since his name, "Omao-kõhe,"
indicates such a relationship, and it is possible perhaps to speak
of a vocation for the office of priest, since the Sanemá Supreme
Being admits him, after his encounter with the Great Jaguar,
into the court of Omao.

793 According to South American ethnology, it is surprising
171 to find a "specialist" in a nomadic preagricultural society, but,
as we shall state below, this is the second time that we have
found a similar case in Venezuela; the other one was that of the
Warao wiʃiráto.

793 The Sanema priest is a member of the court of Omao, not
776 only because the Great Jaguar changed him into a bat, but also
778 because Omao gave him a hikuladɛ which is invisible, although
it has a spherical shape like a ball, and the larger the hikuladɛ,
the more powerful the priest.

The hikuladɛ of the priest, the informant explained, is
like a globe which the hɛwĩawán keeps in his chest. We shall
also see later that the other religious practitioner of the Sanema
793 has a hikuladɛ too, but one which is essentially different. We
778 have the impression that the hikuladɛ of the priest contains "the
775 souls" of the ancestors who were destined by Omao to live there
and help the priest. Since the data obtained are, in our opinion,
793 insufficient, we do not want to hazard peremptory statements,
778 but it seems certain that the Sanemá priest also cures the sick,
755 particularly those who are suffering from fever. Our informant
● [114] explained to us that the ancestors (hikula-dib), the people of the
[775] hikuladɛ of the priest, are the ones who cure the fever when the
priest brings the hikuladɛ out of his chest and deposits it for a
time on the body of the patient.

Sometimes the desired effect is not attained, and that indi-
cates that the soul of the /224/ victim has already abandoned the
793 body and does not want to return. The hĩkula therefore constitute
778 a sort of supernatural "little pueblo" /pueblecito/ within the
628 Sanemá community in which the priest lives and do not wish to
have any communication with the kĩkula-dib /sic/ of the neigh-
boring pueblo. The priests from nearby pueblos do not visit each

BLOOD GROUP ANTIGEN TESTS OF THE WAICA INDIANS OF VENEZUELA[1]

MIGUEL LAYRISSE, ZULAY LAYRISSE, AND JOHANNES WILBERT

GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INFORMATION

128 INTRODUCTION: For the purpose of the present paper we would like to classify the Waica as a subtribe of the Yanoama tribe, the ethnic identification and the internal composition of which appears to be but little understood. Although the actual blood group study will be concerned with the Waica Indians most particularly, we shall, nevertheless, include as well some information on the Yanoama tribe in general. This, we trust, will not only serve to locate the specific Waica data within a wider frame of reference, but also to facilitate the comprehension of the theoretical considerations based thereon.

131 *Ethnic identification.* The Yanoama inhabit a very extensive area between 0°30'-5° N and 62°-65° W, which includes the headwaters of the Paragua, Caura, Ventuari, Padamo, Ocamo, Mavaca, and Orinoco rivers of Venezuela, as well as those of the Uraricuera, Catrimani, Dimini, and Aracá rivers of Brazil. The Sierra Parima crosses this heavily forested territory like a vertebral column, so to speak, and marks at the same time the frontier between the Venezuelan and the Brazilian parts of the Yanoama land (see map, Fig. 1).

101 The Yanoama are surrounded by Tropical Forest Indians with Neo-Indian culture types; Cariban tribes enclose them in a semi-circle to the northeast, while Arawakan peoples bound them in a semicircle to the southwest. Thus, the Yanoama [648] seem to have been functioning as a buffer between the Caribs and the Arawak, successfully resisting any attempt of intrusion by such groups as the Soto (Makiritare), the Pemon, and others. In recent years, after their Carib neighbours had suffered a marked decline in numbers and in strength, the Yanoama ventured northward into the Ventuari, Caura, and Paragua drainage area, intruding into Carib territory for more than 100 km.

114 Although sporadic and rather casual information on the several Yanoama groups have been published by various authors since early Colonial time, it is only

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122 [1] We wish to thank Dr A. Berti and Ovidio Cavallani (División de Malariología, Ministerio de Sanidad, Venezuela) and the Misión Salesiana of the Territorio Federal Amazonas for their collaboration in collecting the blood samples. We are also indebted to Esperanza García for her technical assistance. We are greatly indebted to J. P. O'Riordan (The National Blood Transfusion Association, Dublin), M. Shapiro (The South African Blood Transfusion Service, Johannesburg), R. E. Rosenfield (The Mount Sinai Hospital, New York), and Albin Matson (The Minneapolis Memorial Blood Bank, Minnesota) for supplying us with critical anti-sera.

114 since Koch-Grünberg's contact with two Yanoama groups, in 1911, that more substantial information on this interesting tribe has been collected and in parts been published.[2]

105 [101] Emerging from these data are the names and descriptions of a number of distinguishable tribal units, e.g., Sanemá (Guaharibo, Shirishana), Casapare, Waica, Samatari, Surara, Pakidái, and others. It also has become quite obvious that the Yanoama subtribes are not unified by socio-political authority, but rather by a general and specific culture type, which in turn is integrated by a series of subcultures and culture variants, carried by the different subtribes and local groups respectively. The various local groups and subtribes occupy a coherent territory, they speak more or less closely related languages and display essentially similar economic, sociological, and religious forms.

161 Taken as a whole, the Yanoama were found to be a very numerous tribe and they belong, in fact, to the most numerous of all the autochtonous populations of lowland South America, but previously published figures of 30-50,000 individuals appear to represent very generous overestimations of the demographic strength of the Yanoama groups known so far.

197 [128] *Linguistic classification.* Several authors have attempted a linguistic classification of the Yanoama although most of them did not have at their disposal the more recent material.[3] Taking advantage of this material, we have attempted a glottochronological analysis, the results of which allow us some interesting insight into the internal correlation of the Yanoama languages.[4]

According to this result, the several Yanoama languages, as known today, constitute the Yanoama linguistic stock of 6-35 mc of internal separation. The two more or less clearly distinguishable families of the stock are: *A. Sanemá:* (a) Sanemá, (b) Nabudīb, (c) Pubmatari, [6-17 mc of internal divergencies: Sanemá-Nabudīb = 6 mc, Sanemá-Pubmatari = 17 mc, Nabudīb-Pubmatari = 17 mc]; *B. Casapare:* (a) Casapare, (b) Carime (?), (c) Waica, (d) Samatari (Surara and Pakidái), [8-21 mc of internal divergencies, excepting Carime (for lack of vocabulary material): Casapare-Waica = 21 mc, Casapare-Samatari = 21 mc, Waica-Samatari = 8 mc].

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[2] Surara-Pakidái, by Becher, 1960; Waica, by Baker, 1953; Schuster, 1958; Zerries, 1955, 1956, 1958a, 1958b, 1959, 1960; Sanemá, by Vinci, 1959; Wilbert, 1961a, 1961b.

[3] Rivet, 1924, p. 678; Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9; Mason, 1950, p. 254; Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140; McQuown, 1955, p. 525; Greenberg, 1956; Swadesh, 1959, p. 20; Dall' Igna Rodrigues, 1960, pp. 136-137.

[127] [4] We are indebted to Drs H. Becher and O. Zerries for letting us have a basic vocabulary of Surara-Pakidái and Waica respectively. Complete information on source material has been presented by Wilbert, 1961a.

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[5] had observed that Yanoaman was different from 197
Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opin- 114
ion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the lan-
guage, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forward-
ing suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shirianá" as a dis-
tinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper,*" subfamily of the "*Macro-Chib-
chan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Siriana*" with an internal sepa-
ration of 50 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Sirisana (21 mc). He later
suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in
"*Macro-Siriana,*" which would increase the internal divergence of this micro-
phylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the dis-
tribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after
having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for 105
their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a [226]
very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern
Sanemá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboricul- [241]
ture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [177]
[*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be
little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has re- [245]
mained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of
South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled [323]
conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. [285]
Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving
and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have [286]
learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the [325]
perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long [396]
bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may ante- [411]
date the former.[8]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended [621]
families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly
been established, but judging from the Sanemá of the Erebato and from the [591]

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[5] Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 455-458.

[6] Greenberg, 1956.

[7] Swadesh, 1959, p. 20.

[8] Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

Duffy: The Fy (a+) ranged in these tribes from 77% to 92%, which is the 143
usual range found in Indian tribes.

Kidd: The gene Jk^a showed comparable results in Yaruro 49% and in Waica 56%. The Warao were not tested for this gene.

Diego: As was mentioned before, the Waica showed absence of the gene Di^a; the Warao had a negative frequency among the Winikina sub-tribe and 1.9% among the Guayo sub-tribe; the Yaruro showed five Diego-positive cases out of 102 samples, but four of them were derived from eleven samples taken from a single band. For reasons mentioned elsewhere, the authors suggested that the Warao as well as the Yaruro were originally Diego-negative, and that their low Di^a frequencies are due to admixture with neighboring tribes exhibiting a relatively high frequency of the gene.

OTHER BLOOD GROUPS

The tribes tested for Lutheran, Kell, and Lewis showed negative frequency for Lu^a, K, and Le^a, as is seen also in other Indian tribes with non-Indian admixture.

As can be gathered from these comparisons, it is mainly on the basis of the Di^a gene that we could establish a sharply contrasting difference between the Marginal tribes and other South American tribes tested so far (Goajiro 8%, Paraujano 10%, Munduruku 12%, Guahibo 14%, Caingang 17-46%, Aymara 17%, Caribs [Cariña 29%, Pemon 28%, Yupa 27%]), etc. . .

DISCUSSION

In a previous section we have tried to indicate that the absence or a very low 143
frequency of the Diego gene appears to coincide with a culture pattern typical 114
for hunting, fishing and gathering tribes of South America. On several other 174
occasions[19] it has been pointed out as well that there seems to exist a coincidence of certain levels of cultural developments with characteristic ranges of Diego frequencies, and that these frequencies tend to be quantitatively similar or identical between tribes of "genetic" linguistic affiliation, in the sense Greenberg[20] uses the term. For Venezuela we have, in particular, made mention of the low frequency or absence of the Diego gene among the Waica, Warao, and Yaruro who exhibit a Marginal or Paleo/Meso-Indian type of culture.

We have also indicated that this parallel occurrence of Diego gene distribution and the culture pattern of its bearers coincides to a certain extent with a similar

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[19] Layrisse and Wilbert, 1960.

[20] Greenberg, 1959.

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classification, based on somatological and phenotypical characteristics of the 143
American Indians as proposed by Coon, Garn, and Birdsell,[21] who distinguished 114
between dolicephalic and somewhat mongoloid *Marginal American Indians*, and 174
broader headed less mongoloid *Central American Indians. As a parallel and, of course, not as a causal phenomenon*, the cited authors (very much like the present authors) record that the *Marginal American Indians* include largely non-agricultural Indians of the Americas, while the latter are agricultural peoples of North and South America, especially of the central part. This observation receives substantial support from the recorded facts of the Diego gene distribution, and its importance for migration theory and culture history of South America may be significant. In the given frame of the present paper we shall restrict ourselves [128]
to the discussion of the importance of the absence of the Diego gene mainly among two Marginal tribes of Venezuela, the Waica and the Warao, trying to indicate a possible direction for future Diego research.[21a]

In a recent study, Canals Frau [22] observed that the oldest stratum of *Homo sapiens* in America was composed of five distinct racial types, i.e., the *Silvidos*, the *Sonóridos*, the *Láguidos*, the *Patagónidos*, and the *Huárpidos*, and that the last three were of South American distribution. It is interesting to recall in this connection that Canals Frau includes the Waica and the Piaroa in this antique stratum within which great phenotypical variation has been observed by Vinci, for the Yanoama, and by Baumgartner for the Piaroa.[23] It would seem that the actual occurrence of this variation in one and the same group could best be interpreted by fusion and interbreeding of the different racial types of Paleo-American Man.

Because of his early appearance, the culture of this Paleo-American Man will necessarily have been on a Paleo-Indian (hunters), and later Meso- Indian (fishermen) level of development.[24] Kirchhoff,[25] in referring to the hunting and fishing Marginals of Venezuela, observed that the "differences in subsistence are correlated with other cultural differences, indicating that there was not one basic culture type, but two, the Hunting Culture and the Fishing Culture;" that "Each in turn was divided into at least two subtypes," and that "Without further comparative research, it is impossible to say whether these subtypes were simply local variants of the two basic types or whether they too sprang from different origins."

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[21] Coon, Garn, and Birdsell, 1950.
[21a] Layrisse and Wilbert, 1961.
[22] Canals Frau, 1959.
[23] Vinci, 1956; Zerries, 1959; Baumgartner, 1954.
[24] Cf. Rouse, 1960.
[25] Kirchhoff, 1948, p. 449.

The most typical representative of the Hunters among modern Venezuelan 143
Indians are the Yanoama, while the most typical example of a people of Fishermen 114
culture can be seen in the Warao. It is interesting for the discussion of Kirchhoff's
problem that Swadesh (personal communication) suggests a linguistic affiliation 174
between Yanoaman and Waraoan; interesting, because it is generally accepted that "genetic" linguistic relationship is most likely to have biological significance, since the ancestors of the speakers of genetically related languages[26] once belonged to the same gene pool.

In following up Swadesh's suggestion, the present authors have compared (a) 143
the basic vocabularies of Yanoaman and Waraoan, and (b) all available pairs of 174
about 1000 Yanoama (Sanemá) words with their equivalents in the Warao dictionary recently published by Barral.[27] As a result of this comparison, more than twenty percent of the total pairs compared appeared to be cognate; a percentage certainly high enough to encourage further research. A preliminary glottochronological calculation resulted in 45 mc of separation, which corresponds to twenty six percent of common retentions. Accepting this result as a strong *prima facie* case, it would suggest that the *Yanoama* and *Warao* originally united, separated from each other some 4,500 years ago.[28]

If we compare the blood group phenotype frequencies found in these two tribes, we see that only the frequencies at Diego are very similar, whereas MN, Rh, and Duffy showed statistically significant variations. It is generally accepted that significant differences of gene frequencies in two populations are indicative of different origin, but in comparing small isolated populations, such as most Indian tribes, this statement may not be applicable without allowing for certain restrictions. The gene frequencies in these populations may, for instance, reflect the fortuitous results of gene drift, since in a population with an effective size of 200, an allele would require a selective advantage of 0.01 to avoid the action of drift.[29]

In our case, we are comparing the gene frequencies of blood groups, the majority of which have, until now, been considered to be of neutral selective value. Although the Waica and the Warao belong to the most numerous Indian tribes of Venezuela and lowland South America (8-10,000), they have been living in smaller isolated groups which might have favored the production of gene drift. On this basis, then, one could consider gene drift as the most probable explanation for the phenotype differences of the Rh, MN, and Duffy systems, especially, if we take into consideration a possible 4,500 years lapse of time since their separation.

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[26] Greenberg, 1953.
[27] Barral, 1957.
[28] Wilbert, 1961b.
[29] Glass, Sacks, Jahn, and Hess, 1952.

133 the forest lands, and their tops are so high and so difficult of access that this has helped to preserve a biological world completely distinct not only from that of the surrounding lowlands of the Caroni, Paragua, Caura, and Orinoco valleys but also from that common to all other valleys in the American ● [114] continent. A few decades ago, when the aeroplane first enabled us to study these regions and their geological peculiarities, some observers proceeded to formulate wild theories which aroused more legitimate emotions in the breasts of explorers and scientists.

The formation of sandstone and conglomerate which overlays the original basic rock of this region to a depth of 2,500 metres was eroded almost completely on the periphery of these uplands, leaving the great flat-topped mountains isolated. This geological phenomenon began in the Secondary Era, when the plant and animal life on our planet was appreciably different from what it is today. The process of erosion continued right down to the ancient granite crust, while on the uplands flora and fauna continued as hitherto, restricted now to their new isolation. Communication between the heights and the plain became impossible. The pressure at 2,500 metres is very different from what it is at four hundred, and creates peculiar physiological changes in the organisms that adapt themselves to it.

13
114 It seemed possible that the flat tops of these mountains, which from the air appeared to be covered with bush, would not only reveal unknown vegetable species but also animals which scientists believed to be extinct. Perhaps certain monsters from the Mesozoic age—the Saurians, it might be, the inspiration of so many fantasies—still lived and pastured in deep chasms scooped out by the waters of ages. Speculation wove many a scientific fantasy.

In reality, the monsters remained well and truly buried in their geological strata and no mountain could preserve forms of life surviving through a radical 137 change of atmospheric and geological conditions. What did come as a surprise, however, on these mountains—and the Sarisariñama itself proved the point—was an entirely individual flora: orchids, epiphytes, bromeliads and lianas of hitherto unknown types, which are likely to keep botanical students busy for a long time all over the world.

136 The usual fly-catchers, merry little birds I had already known closely on other high Guiana mountains, came to greet us. Never having seen animals bigger than themselves, these birds took us for strange trees with two big humid flowers distilling honey at the top: our eyes. First one of them came

Y
● 114 Aracosa. There was something about the ring of the name. At last I pinned it down. I had seen it in an account of the journeys made by a certain Theodor Koch-Grünberg—a German who from 1911 to 1913 made a long trip from the Roraima savannah to the Upper Orinoco. He left a record of it in a famous five-volume work—a worthy monument to his venture. In Makiritari, *aracosa* means 'gun': it is a corruption of the old Spanish word *aracabuso*—arquebus. Koch-Grünberg had reached its mouth, and it was here that he made his first contact with the Shirians. Unfortunately he was unable to keep in touch with them for any length of time and only visited the isolated elements he met with in the course of his journey.

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This German explorer naturally made the expedition in the company of Makushi and Makiritari Indians, who live in holy terror of the tribes they call Guaharibo. Their fear may not always be justified, for a good many Guaharibo have now settled down to a mild and perfectly harmless way of life. But they still arouse a rancorous contempt in other tribes. Koch-Grünberg returned to the same region eleven years later, when he made the journey up the Rio Branco, irresistibly drawn towards these people whom he could not understand and whom he described in his book as forming an '*isolierte Gruppe*'—an isolated group, with no affinities to other races. But at the very gateway of their world he died of fever, and his expedition (which had been organized by Hamilton-Rice) after losing its chief, packed its bags and turned south again.

VI

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[122] We left for the Samatari country on March 16th, accompanied by Uarema, Sempronio, and Hashimo, the latter's fee as guide being nothing less than my own fur jacket. Caio, for some inexplicable reason, had quietly declined to come with us. We embarked in a canoe acquired from Pancho's father, and in this swift, light craft we made easy progress up the flooded Merevari.

Heavy rain set in, for whole days at a time. Progress slowed down. The Indians grew weary and there was no more singing and laughter from them. The second evening out, when we had slung our hammocks in a hut we had made on an earlier trip, Luis Antonio told us that his brother wanted to quit: there was not enough cassava—we had brought about twenty pounds.

'You had time to prepare as much as you wanted,' I answered him shortly,

*

123 always filled me with pride. By setting about it in the right way we can always manage to make ourselves acceptable to our superiors, but no such effort will ensure the same result with people more lowly placed than we are: for this, the all-important thing is to possess a natural bent, a certain humility of spirit and a sympathetic understanding. One must possess the faculty of becoming, up to a certain point, 'primitive' oneself, adopting all the healthiest attributes of the primitive state, without at the same time losing one's own value as a civilized being: one must be primitive and something more—not just the 'something more' alone, which rather amounts to something less.

● 114 It often happens that scientific expeditions, or explorers of one sort or another, venture into regions inhabited by primitive men with the intention of studying them. They approach them with all the preconceived and presumptuous notions of men who have read up all there is on the subject, and every single human being who shows up on the river-bank becomes a savage and
[101] must be catalogued like a butterfly. Thus the Shirians in all their slightly different types and sub-divisions are all called 'Guaharibos'—a name which means nothing and which the Shirians themselves have never heard. These scientific explorers may indeed take measurements of their faces and calculate the number of red corpuscles in their blood: the Shirians remain Sanemà for all that—people living in their own forest land, fighting their battles for their own special reasons, but ready to become men just like any others—because with a completeness and a simplicity that surpasses our own, they are men already. But scientific records lump the Sanemà and the Soto together under the barbarian headings of Guaharibo and Magnungòn, both contemptuous epithets, and humanity learns nothing from these explorers with their solar topees, who have scarcely got back to civilization after spending a few months in the forest and learning all there is to be known about the savages before they start writing books about it. If these books could be read and understood by the primitive people they treat with, the authors would be rewarded with a volley of arrows.

VII

*

123 Living improved considerably and there was meat now in abundance: the
[136] banks of the Uraricoera were full of game. The best cuts were reserved for us,

/433/ Memoir on the Culture of the Guaika

By James Barker (*)

● 114 * The author of this work is a missionary of a North American mission, the "New Tribes Mission," who has lived for several years among the Guaika /Waica/ Indians of the Upper Orinoco, Venezuela. Without presuming to be an ethnologist, Mr. Barker has prepared this report containing his observations, and, having kindly sent it to the Ministro de Justicia for his information and for publication, the Comisión Indigenista has accepted it for these pages of the Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, considering its importance as firsthand information concerning a remote tribe scarcely studied up to now. Direct observations made over a period of several years, such as those revealed to us by Mr. Barker in a simple and objective fashion, are of positive utility for ethnologists and ethnographers. [128] In the translation of the original from English to Spanish, we tried to adhere as closely as possible to the words and expressions of the author himself, without having recourse to technical terms. -- (Note by the translator, Walter Dupouy.) 100 /It is to be noted that Mr. Dupouy was the original translater from the English to Spanish, but not the HRAF translator from the Spanish to English./

121 Most of the data included in this memoir are the result of my own observations. Observations made by other members of the staff of the "New Tribes" Mission, who have also collaborated, are included as well. They are: Mr. Edwin Killam and his wife,

/434 cont./

197 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a
101 separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small
differences in language, are certain differences in their habits
and material culture.

101 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation
177 zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the
north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted
[248] many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they culti-
vate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton ham-
[352] mocks and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version
[342] of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some
[484] few ranchos with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare,
they travel much farther than the Guaika.

191 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they
192 speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also
adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare
and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had
with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiriana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

Maps

126 I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory
inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guaharibo/
● [114] tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is
shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126 On the map of the local area of El Platanal, I have tried
628 to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settle-
ments, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika

/435 cont./

126 628 rancherias. For anyone who might be preparing to travel or work in Guaika territory, these relations can be as important as the geographical location of the settlements. If a group of Guaika should be engaged to carry out certain tasks, they might be inclined to work well in certain areas, but doubtless would refuse to enter areas inhabited by their enemies. /

126 /436/ On the map of the whole area inhabited by the Guaika and Guajaribo, I have tried to show the approximate limits of the two tribes. The areas which are shaded on the said map correspond to the zones where we have had contact with these tribes on several occasions. (114) The settlements whose names appear underlined, that is to say, El Platanal and Ioeitedi, are native rancherias where we have lived and worked for long periods of time. These settlements continue to be our principal bases of operation.

103 The native names of the principal rivers are as follows:

Orinoco River	Majekodo-ko
Cunucunuma River	Ami-ko
Padamo River	Jaiyama-ko
Metacuni River	Wakawaka-ko
Ocamo River	Kia-ko
Mavaca River	Wachewa-ko
Manavichi River	Mata-ko

The native name of the Raudal de Guajaribos /Guaharibo Torrent/ is Kalebakbola.

I have not been able to discover even one name for the hill of Guaiaribo, but the most important peaks, starting below and going up the river, are: Wanidi-mak, Yabitao-mak, Kacholaoa-mak, and Wadubaoa-mak.

Geography

361 A few Guaika /Waica/ settlements are located along the principal rivers and are accessible by means of small boats or canoes with outboard motors. Nevertheless, most of the Guaika settlements are inland and can only be reached after one or more days of travel.

7: Barker--6 M-5 (ca.1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

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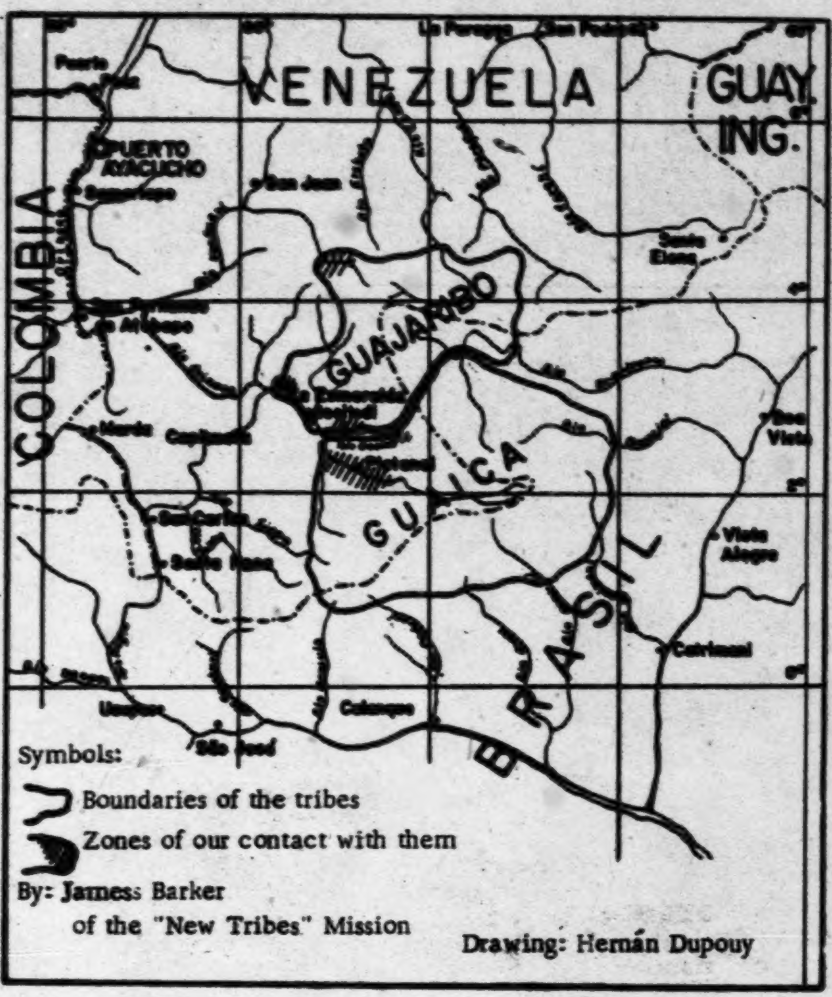
VENEZUELA
GUAY. ING.
COLOMBIA
BRASIL
GUAJARIBO
GUAICA
Puerto Paez
PUERTO AYACUCHO
San Juan
Santa Elena
Boa Vista
Vista Alegre
Catrimani
San Carlos
Uaupes

Symbols:

Boundaries of the tribes

Zones of our contact with them

By: Jamess Barker
of the "New Tribes" Mission

Drawing: Hernán Dupouy

Guaharibo

/437 cont./

Population -- 1953

361 It is known that there are about 23 Guaika /Waica/ settlements between the Orinoco and the Ocamo rivers and in the region of the Brazilian frontier to the north of the Orinoco River.

/438/ It is known that there are at least 28 other Guaika settlements to the south of the Orinoco River.

103
162 The approximate population of the Guaika settlements with which we have had the most contact is as follows:

Majekodotedi (Platanal)	100	Kacholaotedi	100
Bichaasatedi	100	Boleitaotedi	100
Lajalaowatedi	100	Patanaotedi	120
Yabitaotedi	75	Chibardiatedi	60

361 At least eight Guajaribo settlements are known to exist in the region of the Ocamo and Lower Padamo rivers. It is known that there are others on the Upper Padamo, a few others on the Ventuari River, and still others on the Upper Caura (also called the Merevari River).

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162
[114] The approximate population of the Guajaribo settlements with which we have had the most contact is as follows:

Ioeitedi	60
Wakawakatedi	100
Kwaisitedi	100

162 The population of El Platanal can be divided by age and sex approximately as follows:

	Men	Women	Total
Great-grandparents	0	1	1
Grandparents	6	6	12
Parents	8	15	23
Newlyweds (childless)	5	6	11
Unmarried adolescents and children	33	21	54
	52	49	101

/457 cont./

323 (114) the fire quite blackened when well baked. On my last trip upriver I had the good luck to see how one of these pots was made, except for the baking in the fire. In spite of being very fragile, these pots are highly esteemed for cooking.

Constructions

342 335 The Guaika /Waica/ dwelling is a roof with only one slope and no walls. The basic structure is a triangle of beams supported at its vertices by uprights. The highest angle is supported by a long upright, while the two lower angles are held up by two short crossed stakes at each corner. Or one of these lower corners might be fixed to a living tree for greater stability.

The uprights are pointed at their lower end and stuck into the ground repeatedly until they are quite firm. Then the main beam, or bearing beam, is tied in place horizontally between the short uprights on which the roof is supported. Then the two diagonal beams which form a triangle with the main beam are put in place, and on this basic triangle are added four beams inclined toward both sides. Then the small beams which form the framework which will bear the leaves are put on top. (Fig. 3./see p. 29/.)

342 [824] The leaves are placed on top like tiles, but are not tied in place. Brush /breñas/ and sticks are put over the leaves so that the wind will not blow them off. Sometimes palm leaves and brush are drawn up against the back eaves so as to form a sort of back wall. /458/ /[illegible]/ /Fig. 3 appears here./

This basic structure may vary, two or more ranchos being joined laterally and their roofs united.

On sites more suitable for more stable constructions (that is to say, where there is considerable clayey ground and consequently fewer fleas or "niguas"), the Guaika build dwellings with the palm leaves of the roof fixed in place. These dwellings are similar to the more temporary constructions, but are generally larger, and the small beams of the framework are replaced by strings of vine stretched lengthwise across the inclined beams. The palm leaves are fixed to these strings, their stems being bent backwards and down, thus piercing the lower layer of leaves.

/487 cont./

804 They determine measures by comparing one thing with another. Thus, a man lies down on the ground to determine the distance which separates the posts which he is going to plant for setting up his hammock. In the same way the Indian measures the size of his belt by means of a string before making himself a woven cotton belt of the same length as that obtained with the string.

Weights are determined by lifting the object and mentally comparing its weight with that of other objects which have been lifted previously.

805

Time Reckoning

The Guaika /Waica/ divide the solar day as follows: morning, while the sun rises; the period of midday, while the sun is high in the heavens; afternoon, until the rapid setting of the sun; and night. A more precise time of day is indicated by pointing to where the sun is at the moment, where it was, or where it will be when a certain event will occur.

A period of time is correlated approximately with the distance that can be covered during this time. For example, they say: "We shall arrive at the house when the sun reaches that height (and they point to it)." Or they would say: "He will be back in the time that it would take you to go from here to the river."

The Guaika do keep count of the days. They count the weeks by the phases of the moon. They also count the lunar months. The seasons of the year are reckoned according to the cycle of the fruits. A year is the time that passed between two similar harvests.

• 114

Birth

This part of my essay has been kindly written for me by Mr. Edwin Killam, to whom we must express our thanks for his esteemed collaboration.

/151/

Raids among the Guaika

By James Barker (*)

● 114 * Mr. James Barker has prepared this work as a result of his many years with the Guaika /Waica/ Indians of the Upper Orinoco, Venezuela. In this Boletín (Year I, Vol. I, Caracas, June-December, 1953, Nos. 3-4, pp. 433-489 /see 7: Barker, this file/) he presented a report of his observations under the title of "Memoria sobre la cultura Guaika /Memoir on the Culture of the Waica/." The present work is the result of his observations, which, revealed in an objective and simple manner, are of positive value for ethnologists and ethnographers.

121 I have been asked for more information about the raid. As I am not sure of which one I am asked about, I will tell about several, especially those about which I have quite detailed information.

574
628 In February of 1951 the aldea of Liacoatjeti invited the aldea of Bisheasetjeti to a Pijiguao or palm festival. The men of Liacoatjeti had gone on a special hunt to get a supply of meat. There was to have been an abundance of every type of food. There were to have been special dances, the taking of yopo, and other things which they do on such festive occasions.

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628
721 But the invitation was a trick which those of Liatcoatjeti /sic/ had planned in order to be able to kill, if possible, all of the men of Bisheasetjeti and capture their women. Batanoetjeti and other aldeas which were enemies of Bisheasetjeti were invited to hide outside of the aldea and shoot at any man who tried to get away. Since they did not need to feed anybody, the Liacoatjeti did not bother to go hunting.

/156 cont./

721 In December of 1953 the Shibaatſa-tjeti came back to make
123 another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the
Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river.
Some of the Shibaatſa-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow,
but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They
explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the
Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them.
[302] But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid.
[594] (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.)
[822] When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them
where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and
[412] fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth.
After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people
[361] of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were
near their main farm.

166 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called
361 "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could
721 live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatſa-
tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at
361 their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was
● [114] calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time
since the first raid by the Shibaatſa-tjeti had put them on the
alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit,
[226] fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having
[411] fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows
[857] of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece
of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the
/157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying
726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some
came to the *aldea* and said that a great number of tracks had been
seen not far from the *aldea*. A group of men went out to investigate.

/158 cont./

726 That night some of our missionaries were camped outside in a
● 114 casa abierta /"open house"/. Suddenly they were awakened by
a group of Yanomama men, who were standing and looking at
our missionaries, without saying anything. They all were painted
[302] black, as though to make it impossible to recognize them by
the light of the evening, or in the lesser light of the night.
Finally the silence was broken, and the men of Majecototjeti
told them that they were looking for the raiders who had killed
the man and the boy and had carried off the four women. Our
people had seen nothing of the raiders and were enormously surprised at the news.

726 The following morning the men went to the place of the attack and brought the arrows which were there. They did not bring back the complete arrows, but only the ends with the feathers. The arrows were not cut, but burned in two. The poisoned points were brought also. The men carefully examined the arrows and tried to make out from what aldea the raiders had come. The arrows looked like those of the Liacoatjeti, but they had seen a machete in that place, and who could imagine a Liacoatjeti leaving a machete, even in a moment of danger.

There was also a rumor that a bark canoe had been found some distance down the river. Probably the Shibaatía-tjeti had crossed the river in this canoe. (This rumor later turned out to be false.)

A search was carried out in a large circle in every direction to try to find out what direction the raiders had taken. Finally the track was found, and the Liacoatjeti were then recognized as the raiders, and they had come from the south. Their path had been made so as to cover the tracks, leaving the formation one by one and reassembling farther on.

721 The Majecototjeti planned, in turn, a raid of /159/ revenge. First a banquet was held with tapir meat and cassava to eat with the meat. A day or so later the men marched off on a raid of revenge against the Liacoatjeti. The Majecototjeti had gone off two weeks before, but had not found the Liacoatjeti in their houses.

727 [123] "Jolocoiue," a boy with a broken leg who had stayed with us, asked us to pray to God to send "Etemi" (one of the abducted women) home safe and sound.

/159 cont./

727 women) home safe and sound. A few days after the Majecototjeti returned from their attempted raid, "Etemi" returned. When she returned, the whole aldea went back to the north bank of the Orinoco River, in case they were being followed.

She told how it was that she had had a chance to walk in front of an old woman, and, getting somewhat out in front along the way, she was able to get off the path without being seen and had returned.

We marveled at our little faith. Why had we not prayed to God to bring them all back?

721 The chief repeatedly called meetings for raids to get re-
venge on the Liatcoatjeti. Usually the aldeas of Bisheasetjeti
[628] and Macolimutjeti accompanied the Majecototjeti on their raids.
Our missionaries and some of the believers and the Yanomama
prayed together that the raiders would not kill anybody or lose
any of their own. Once they did not find anybody in the houses.
Another time they became lost and for lack of food had to return
home. Another time the whole group was so sick that they had to
return, having covered only a few days of travel from their point
721 of departure. When a Yanomama aldea or several aldeas are about
726 to go on a raid, they hold an impressive ceremony. They make
one or several effigies which represent the enemy. Then a simulated
raid is acted out, in which these effigies are wounded, broken in
two, and then thrown down. If the enemy is far away, they can do
this at home and several times on the way to the enemy. Some-
times the simulated raid is carried to the point of dividing the
group into two parts: one group which shoots at the effigies and
then escapes (flees) with several girls from the aldea; the other
group comes along a little later, /160/ finds that the women are
gone, and pursues the raiders until it finds them hidden, sometimes
out in the forest, with the girls. When the raiders are found,
each one gives a loud war-cry and the ceremony ends.

● 114
721 In December of 1954 all our missionaries went down the river for our field conference, leaving the Frobenius expedition alone in Platanal. One night a man from Shibaatśa-tjeti slipped

/160 cont./

114 721 into the aldea of Platanal and shot at one of the men. His shot wounded "Lublo-juu" in the thigh. Nevertheless, since he recovered, there was no gathering for a raid. The men of the Frobenius expedition treated his leg and prevented complications, since the wound was quite deep.

574 628 At the beginning of February 1955 the Macolimutjeti and the Bisheasetjeti were invited to a Pijiguao or palm (Peach) festival among the Majecototjeti. The Macolimutjeti all came, men, women, and children. But the Bisheasetjeti were somewhat afraid. The Majecototjeti had been somewhat friendly with the Batanoatjeti, bitter enemies of the Bisheasetjeti, and the Bisheasetjeti feared a trick. (Years before, in 1951, they had been tricked by the Liacoatitjeti.) But so as not to show their bad faith, the men came (or at least a few of them), but none of the women, in order thus to reduce the "desirability" of a trick to steal them.

726 In March of 1955 the men of Platanal had gone for a new attempt at a raid, leaving the rest of the people in the principal aldea, located to the north of the Orinoco. One day, when /illustration appears here/ /161/ all of them except the lame boy were out of the aldea, the Shibaatfa-tjeti returned. They found "Joashimocaoue," who was returning from the farm at the head of the others who had gone to take advantage of the Pijiguao, or palm festival. The raiders shot him twice in the back, since he ran toward the refuge of the aldea. He was wounded by one bamboo point, not deeply, and by one point poisoned with curare, which caused a rather deep wound. In the aldea he told the lame [123] boy to hide himself from the raiders who had killed him, and then, finding no help in the aldea, he ran to our house, about 200 to 300 meters away.

8: Barker--16 M-5 (ca.1951-1956) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

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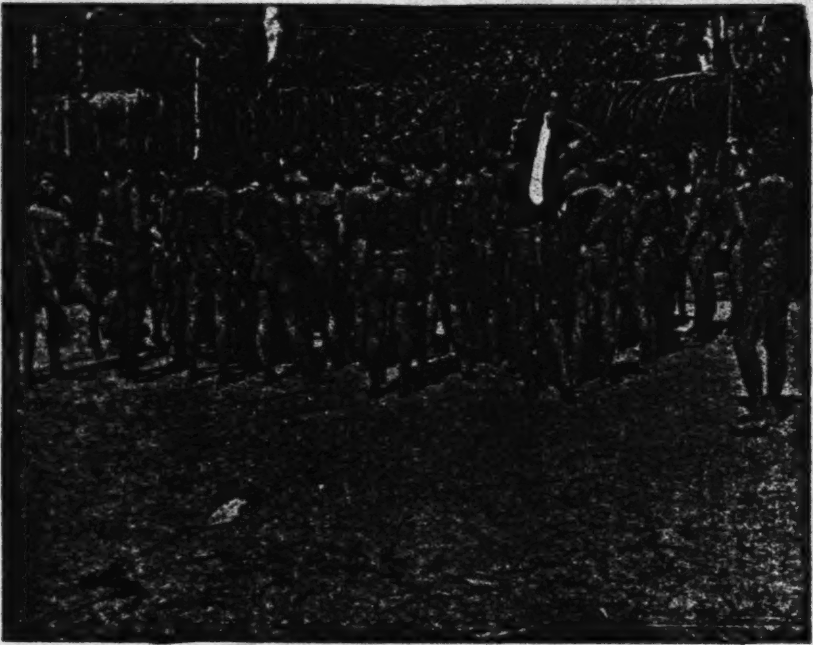

Guaica Indians in El Platanal buying machetes.

● 114
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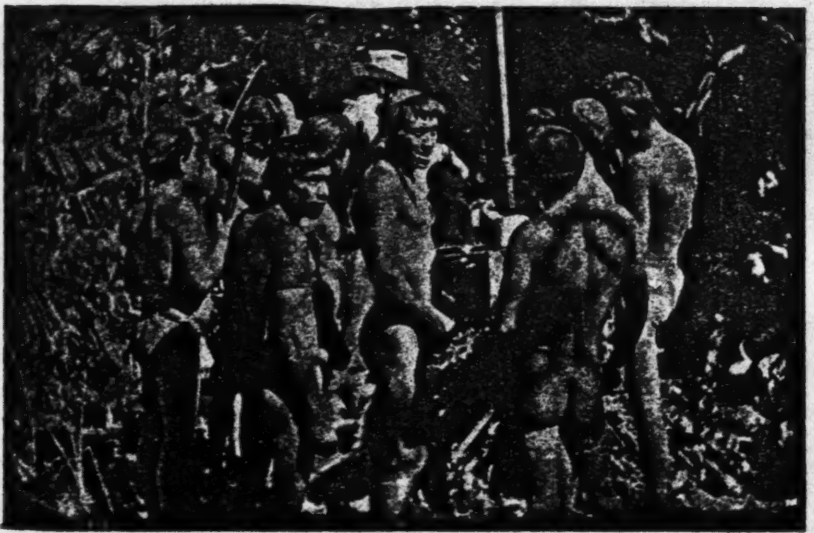
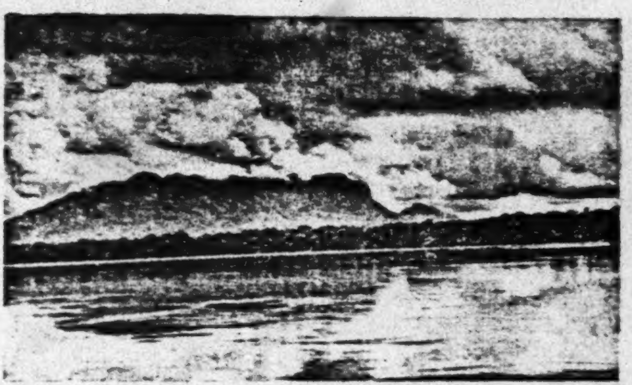


A group of Guaica natives surrounding James Barker.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

1 133



Cerro Yapacana dominates the river from a distance of almost a mile. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

● 114

Our three " lanchas " lashed together tow a retinue of *curiaras*. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

080

Raymond Pélégri aboard the radio-pirogue. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 80-D]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

411 supple wood and well over six feet long, it is very powerful. With it the Waïka can shoot an arrow more than a hundred yards and can hit a *paujil*—a bird about the size of a turkey—at forty yards. Normally two or three arrows are carried and they are as long as, if not longer than, the bow itself. The shafts are made of reed which, Cardona said, is specially grown for the purpose on their plantations, and are feathered by falcon's feathers. The feathers are meticulously tied in a near-perfect spiral with thread of forest cotton or morisco palm fibre. Each arrow has a different head specially adapted to a particular purpose. Spare arrow-heads are carried in a quiver in which also is carried fire-making material to protect it from the damp.

[372] The quiver is a simple bamboo case to which are also tied a
[412] firestick and a number of little knives made from the incisors of a large rodent called a capybara. It is carried on the back
[237] by means of a string slung round the forehead.

Such comprise the simple impedimenta of the Waïka on his
484 journeys through the forest. The women, who accompany their mates on their many ceaseless wanderings, presumably have their own burdens to carry, but we saw nothing of them until we visited our first native village on the next day.

491 As we went up-river we came across the remains of a rude bridge which had formerly spanned the two hundred yards of river and which had been carried away by the flood waters. It was the biggest bridge we had seen although we had passed a number of lesser ones fashioned of lianas spanning the tributaries. On the bank where the bridge had been were some twenty natives and a handful of children.

● 114 "*Apo! Shori! Apo!*" they greeted us.

We knew from Butrón that, though his men were accustomed to replenish their banana stocks at this place, they had so far never been allowed to visit the village hidden somewhere in the forest.

221 The Waïka lives on wild fruits, fish, meat and the produce of
[484] plantations adjacent to his villages. Most of his time he spends wandering in the forest and his fleeting appearances at his
[262] village occur usually only when natural resources fail or when he has to defend himself against an enemy horde. He knows

I tried to take some photographs of them, but they cowered 123 back behind each other, clucking like frightened chickens, and the men gestured to me to stop. One of them, a one-eyed old man, despatched a stream of spittle from his quid into my face.

"*Shori! Noji!*" I protested, and laughed. I got out my comb and combed my hair and beard. He came over and examined the comb and my hair and stroked my beard. Then he, too, laughed.

"*Shori!*" he repeated.

I set about combing his crown of short bristly hair. He laughed louder and spat heartily. I slipped my arm round his shoulders and placed the view-finder of my camera against his good eye. He groaned and hopped from one foot to another, and I pressed the release. Then he laughed again and allowed himself to be photographed but he would not allow me to take pictures of the women until we had made further gifts of knives.

In the missionaries' hut, which was identical with the others, we saw the beginnings of the first Waïka dictionary. While we were there a native came up and led me to a hut where his wife was suckling a few-week's-old baby. The baby's two-year-old brother was playing in the dust with two mangy dogs as thin as a skeleton and of no recognizable breed. The child's [164] body was covered with scabs about the size of threepenny bits. Quite obviously the father expected me to do something about the affliction, and I made up my mind to give Barker some tubes of sulphonamide. Barker told me that infant mortality [165] was high among the Waïkas, adding that he had never known a child to be born or to die within the village enclosure. Since the sojourns of these people within the village were invariably brief, birth and death invariably occurred in the course of their peregrinations.

The men and youths all had deep scars on their scalps, made 142 the more conspicuous by their shaven crowns. In answer to our inquiries we were told in gestures that these came from some sort of stick or club, but whether in battle or ritual, we could not discover. (The following year King Leopold II's [114] expedition to the same area saw similar long head-scars among Waïka women.)

YANOMAMO WARFARE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

By Napoleon Alphonseau Chagnon

121 The purpose of this analysis is to show that the
large discrepancy (over 50%) between ideal marriage rules
and actual marriage practice among the Yąnomamö Indians of
Southern Venezuela is necessitated by the politico-military
milieu within which marriages are contracted. The data
114 covered in this thesis were collected from November 1964
through February 1966 during which time the author lived with
these Indians. Inter-village warfare was chronic while the
124 field work was conducted. All the data were obtained from
the Yąnomamö in their language.

162 Census data on five Yąnomamö villages are presented
847 to show that the male/female sex ratio is high. The shortage
595 of women, initially caused by female infanticide, is compli-
834 cated further by the practice of polygyny and coitus taboos
721 and is shown to be the basis of both internal and inter-
182 village fighting. Detailed historical data on village move-
ments and warfare, collected from native informants and amp-
lified by case materials on specific events that the author
witnessed, are given to demonstrate the correlation of war-
fare to the shortage of women.

*621 The imbalanced sex ratio is also shown to be the
613 basis of competition between co-residential patrilineal
578 descent groups, and how the members of these ally themselves
562 to other, patrilineal, local descent groups in order to
maximize the number of women to which each group's members
have access. When intra-village feuding over women becomes
particularly intense, larger villages are shown to fragment
into smaller, independent villages whose initial composition
resembles a dual organization of inter-marrying patrilineal
000 descent groups. Genealogical data in both sociological and

[Introductory, P. ii]

[Introductory, P. iii]

Genealogical dąta in both sociological and
128 biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate
613 the dual organization tendency. Similar data on twö other
*621 villages from which this sample village recently split are
602
*628 presented to show that affinal ties between local descent
groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between
such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent
groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in
the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their
128 members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

726 The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to
182 determine in large measure both the size of the village and
*621 the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances
*628 based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn
128 horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence
241 on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political
*628
182 alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the
583 direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis.
128
721 First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-
*628 village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which
*621 males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that
182 increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females
581 reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage
162 practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the
128 conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is
721 chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages
582 require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between
183 these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yąnomamö social
182 organization are given to support these conclusions. Third,
*628 the data bearing on Yąnomamö social organization support E.
121 R. Leach's contention that the political and economic con-
128 texts within which marriages take place must be considered
581
613 as part of the ongoing social organization and must be in-
cluded in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis
[114] shows that integration between Yąnomamö lineal descent corp-
orations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties
cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS[1]

000 I am indebted to a number of the faculty members of the Anthropology Department for their guidance, counsel and personal attention during the course of my undergraduate and graduate program. In particular, I wish to express my gratitude to Professors Mervin J. Meggitt, Marshall D. Sahlins, Elman R. Service, Leslie A. White, and Eric R. [illegible] all they have done to assist me in planning and carrying out my curriculum and field work. Whatever may prove to be of worth in this dissertation derives ultimately from the training I received from them.

I owe special thanks to Dr. Robert L. Carneiro and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole for assisting me in particular phases of my field preparations and for the innumerable personal kindnesses they showed me before, during and after my field work among the Yąnomamö.

114 122 During the seventeen months I spent in Venezuela planning and conducting my field work, a large number of people rendered me invaluable assistance. I wish to express my gratitude to the Staff of the Venezuelan Air Force Transport Group No. 6 for transporting me and my equipment into

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[122] [1] This investigation was supported in part by a Public Health Service Predoctoral Fellowship F1 MH-25, 052, and an attached Research Grant MH 10575-01 BEH R04 from the National Institute of Mental Health.

● 114 122 and out of the Federal Territory of Amazonas, and to Commander Dr. David Capriles of the Medical Section for assisting me in making these arrangements. I also wish to thank Dr. Armando Caballín T. of the Amazonas District of the Venezuelan Malaria Control Service (Malarialogía) for generously placing the facilities of that organization at my disposal, and for arranging the purchase and transportation of many of my supplies.

●●● I am personally indebted to Dr. Marcel Roche, Director of the Venezuelan Institute of Scientific Research (I.V.I.C.), and to Dr. Miguel Layrisse, Chairman of the Physiopathology Department of that institute, for their cooperation in and assistance to my field work.

122 A number of Missionaries gave me invaluable assistance in the Yąnomamö language and generously placed the resources of their missions at my disposal. I particularly wish to thank Mr. James P. Barker and Mr. Cecil Neese of the New Tribes Mission, and Padre Luiz Cocco and Padre José Berno of the Salesian Mission for their generous aid.

115 126 I thank Kąobäwä, headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for his assistance and cooperation in the collection of some of the genealogical data; without his aid my data would have serious gaps.

●●● I wish to thank Dr. James V. Neel, Chairman of the Department of Human Genetics at the University of Michigan, for encouraging and personally supporting my field work, and for generously making departmental office space available

124 omissions in ascending generations. The genealogies of
128 individuals from other villages were easier to collect,
particularly if my informants had grudges against the members
of those villages, but I employed the same techniques in
these cases as well.

124 After I had established the genealogical relationships, I visited the various villages to make estimates of
the ages of the individuals, as well as to collect other
124 kinds of information. This was always a touchy business, as
123 the Yąnomamö resent being called by their names, particularly
551 older and more influential individuals. Occasionally I would
554
769 say the name of an individual who had recently been killed in
a raid; this always resulted in an unpleasant and possibly dangerous situation, as most of them were unable to understand why a complete stranger should want to possess such knowledge unless it were for harmful magical purposes. My guides were constantly reminding me not to mention the names of dead people of the villages I visited and of the disastrous consequences that would follow should I fail to heed this advice.

124 In short, the collection of the genealogies was an unpleasant, full-time task and left very little time for intensive study of other aspects of Yąnomamö culture.

114 The two monographs dealing with the Yąnomamö mentioned above are quite superficial in their treatment of social organization; to date no intensive analysis of Yąnomamö social organization has been attempted using data

114 similar to that presented here, and I regard my own efforts in this area as supplemental to the generally excellent ethnographic work of Zerries (1964) and Schuster (1958).
128 Without genealogical data it is not possible to estimate the degree to which marriage practices deviate from stated preference, nor to grasp the importance of these deviant cases in Yąnomamö politics.

121 The histories of the five villages are equally important, as they illustrate the role of warfare in determining settlement pattern, the development of political ties between villages, and the process of village splitting. These factors provide the matrix within which the genealogical data become meaningful.

128
133
[174] Piecing together the history of these groups of villages proved to be a difficult task. The geographical
[127] area under discussion is unexplored and unmapped. Not even major rivers are accurately known in their upper courses, so that of two published versions of the Siapa River I have had to choose the one most consistent with the account given to
823 me by the Indians. The major problem in this regard has
128 been the identification of a large river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u, whose headwaters lie near the source of
[124] the Orinoco River. According to my Yąnomamö informants (people who have either lived on this river or have visited or raided villages located on it), the Shukumöna-u, in its middle course, is nearly as large as the Orinoco at its junction with the Mavaca River. It flows in a westerly

823 direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of
128 mountains. At a few points the Shukumöna-u may be reached
from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

128 Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extend-
131 ing nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the
133 Indians claim the Shukumöna-u does, and lying between the
Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from
128 Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map
133 published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for
129 the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the
[126] Shukumöna-u of the Yąnomamö. I have used more recent maps,
[114] also obtained from the same office, for the course of the
Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I
obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this
river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I un-
successfully attempted to contact in September of 1965.
Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148, are based on these sources.

126 In reconstructing the history of the village move-
174 ments, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have
361
133 relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the
Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided
me; Penascal, above Ruemi-u (Shuwimöwi-bora in Yąnomamö) and
Raudal Guaharibo (Karäbä-bora in Yąnomamö) near the present
village of Kashorawä-tedi.

126 I employed three sources of information to locate
361 present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages
[115] I personally visited. Second, information from James P.
[797]

175 648 [726] Karawatari's village.

The raiders attacked the foreigners at dawn but were driven off by gunfire; a number of the Indians were killed, among them a man called Hokohenawä, and some of the foreigners were allegedly hit with arrows. The Indians managed to capture a young girl, taking her back to Karawatari's village on the *Shukumöna-u*. Shortly after arriving at Karawatari's village, the abductors were in turn raided by another Shamatari village, then on the Upper Mavaca River under the leadership of Matakuwä, one of the two "original" Shamatari men. Karawatari's group had split from Matakuwä's group and was on hostile terms with it. The girl was taken by Matakuwä's men on this raid and brought to the Mavaca River. Matakuwä's village was on a branch of the Mavaca River called *Kedebaböwei-u* when Nabäyoma was abducted from Karawatari's [114] group. Zerries (1964:14) gives 1934 as the date of the abduction of Nabäyoma, whereas Seitz (1963:21) places it a little earlier.

[593] [052] In Matakuwä's village, Nabäyoma was given to Yoyonahi's son; he shot her with a barbed arrow for disobeying him and the girl fled into the woods to nurse her wound. At this time Matakuwä's group was on friendly terms with the residents of Patanowä-täka (who are now living in three distinct villages and constitute the groups from whom most of my data were * [628] [594] taken). On one of their visits, the residents of Patanowä-täka found Nabäyoma in the woods outside Matakuwä's village and took her home with them when they left after visiting.

124 173 what happened. The later descriptions obtained from much older informants were virtually identical with those I originally recorded from the younger informants. I believe, accordingly, that the accounts of the time period antecedent to the life-span of even my oldest informants are accurate in so far as their major features are concerned.

726 178 That the histories are filled with treachery, great violence, and much bloodshed will be apparent. The nature of Yąnomamö warfare, however, has not changed. It was being [114] conducted as vigorously and in similar ways in 1964-1966 while I conducted my field-work.

CHAPTER I

YĄNOMAMÖ CULTURE AND EARLIER ANTHROPOLOGICAL WORK[1]

101

A. Yąnomamö Culture

The Yąnomamö are discussed in the literature under such tribal designations as Guaica, Waika, Guaharibo, Makù, Schiriana, Xiriana, Kirischana, Shidishana, Shamatari, Sanema, and Yanoama. Most of the terms are derogatory names applied to the Yąnomamö by their neighbors and characterize the people as being monkey-like or as savages.[2]

[114] In the upper Orinoco and the Mavaca basin where I conducted my field work, the Indians referred to themselves as Yąnomamö, which at once defines their mode of life, language, origin, and includes all people who share this mode of life, language and origin. All non-Yąnomamö are collectively

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[114] [1] As there are very few reliable English sources describing Yąnomamö social organization and culture, I give a brief description of them here. The best source in English to date is Zerries' 1955 publication, but it deals only with particular traits of Yąnomamö culture.

[128] [94] [104] [2] The word Yąnomamö is nasalized on every syllable, but for ease of typing this manuscript, I have not indicated all the nasalization. The vowel /-ɨ-/ is written /-ö-/. I have written the /- ə -/ as "-ä-" and have indicated nasalization by /-,-/; whenever a Yąnomamö word has one nasalized syllable, all syllables in that word are nasalized.

101 Zerries (1964:19)
[114] has included the groups I studied in the Shamatari classification on the basis of information taken from Mahekodotedi informants. The members of these groups, however, deny the Shamatari identity and distinguish themselves from their southern neighbors, some of whom visit them regularly and are married into their villages.

101 361 The Shamatari,[1] according to my Bisaasi-tedi inform-
[103] ants, take their name from one of the headmen, Kayabawä ("big
[551] tree"), who lived north of the Orinoco River in a village then
[551] called Shɨhowä-tedi. Kayabawä was an unusually corpulent man and bore a second name, Shamatari, derived from their word (Shama) for the tapir, a large ungulate found throughout
[103] tropical South America. Shamatari, when Shɨhowä-tedi split, led his faction south of the Orinoco River and settled in the headwaters of the river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u (see above), where his village became known as Mokayäaba-tedi. Other villages, related to Shɨowä-tedi, moved into the Shukumöna River and Havaca River basins after Shamatari's village was established, ultimately spreading as far southwest as the Cauabury headwaters in Brazil. The
101 [174] Shamatari expansion into this area took place around the turn of the century, according to my reconstruction of Shamatari history (see below). This is also supported by meagre

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[1] There is another "Shamatari" group in the tributaries of the Upper Parima River of Brazil; these are not to be confused with the Shamatari under discussion here, although both groups are Yąnomamö. See Vinci, 1959, for an impressionistic account of his brief contact with the Parima Shamatari.

101 The term Waika or Guaica is used in much the same way as the term Shamatari, i.e., in reference to a geographical bloc of villages that have a common history. I have no knowledge concerning the origin of the term except its etymological derivation from the verb waikaö: "to kill something that is already wounded," "to finish off an animal that is dying."[1]

The term Waika, or variants of it (Guaica, Uaica), has been in the literature the longest, appearing in Caulin's 1779 work. Zerries has adopted its usage, along with the term Schiriana, to refer to the entire Yąnomamö group; ironically, members of the village in which he conducted his field work, Mahekodo-tedi, denied to me that they were Waika, explaining that the Waika lived further up the Orinoco River and inland.

Insofar as designations more precise than Yąnomamö are required, the Indians themselves simply use their village names. The terms Shamatari and Waika do not refer to political entities, and the boundaries of the geographical zones including so-called Waika or Shamatari villages are difficult to fix. Only the members of those villages that are related historically to Kayabawä's group are properly designated as Shamatari. All of the Indians of this large area, however, regard themselves as Yąnomamö, no matter what others call them, and I adopt this term to refer to the entire group.

000 Numerically, the Yąnomamö are one of the largest

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[114] [1] Zerries, 1964:3, gives the same derivation for the term.

131 161 Numerically, the Yąnomamö[33] are one of the largest unacculturated tribes in South America, having a total population that approaches 10,000 in both Venezuela and Brazil. Most Yąnomamö live in Venezuela, occupying the area drained by the upper Orinoco, Mavaca, Manaviche, Ocamo, Padamo and Ventuari Rivers in the state of Amazonas, and the headwaters of the Caura and Paragua rivers of Estado Bolivar. 101 199 439 In several drainages (Paragua, Caura, Ventuari and Padamo) the Yąnomamö are in contact with other tribes speaking Carib languages (Makiritare and Arekuna or Taulipang), from whom the Yąnomamö have traditionally obtained steel tools in trade and from whom a number of culture traits have been borrowed. Zerries has painstakingly analyzed these traits in his 1964 work.

• 114 161 No systematic census has been made of the entire Yąnomamö language family, although James P. Barker was commissioned by the Venezuelan Government to compile a census of the Yąnomamö occupying the Amazonas territory of that country. By both actual head-count and estimates of village size for groups that topography prevented him from visiting, Barker presently estimates the Venezuelan Amazonas Yąnomamö population to be well over 7,000.[1]

161 162 *621 The population in Amazonas is distributed in some 80 to 100 villages, averaging between 60 and 100 people per village.[2] Villages occasionally contain as few as 40 people

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[115] [1] Personal communication. See Zerries (1964:5) for a discussion of Yąnomamö population size. He concludes that the Yąnomamö are ". . . the largest yet unacculturated aboriginal group in tropical South America." (Ibid. My translation.)

[illegible] [2] The relationship to warfare tactics and village size is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

622 [554] women. During relatively peaceful times headmen are hardly more than equals among their followers and their ability to command respect and issue orders diminishes accordingly. [[illegible]] Political commitments to aid other villages in raiding, however, usually precludes long periods of peace and, should a village fail in such an obligation, its allies quickly turn on it and force it to participate. Thus, political circumstances are continually forcing villages into situations that require leadership.

• 114

B. Anthropological Work On the Yąnomamö

So far four anthropological expeditions have had an opportunity to study Yąnomamö groups, but only two of these spent an adequate amount of time in the field to collect data that substantially increase our knowledge of Yąnomamö culture. I refer to the expeditions of the Frobenius Institute in 1954-55 which brought Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster to the village of Mahekodo-tedi for some 10 months, and the expedition of Hans Becher in 1955-56 to the upper Demini River in Brazil, where he studied two villages for 9 months. The expeditions of Koch-Grünberg in 1911-12 and Johannes Wilbert in 1958 and 1960 made only brief contacts with Yąnomamö.

The results of Koch-Grünberg's contact with two groups of Yąnomamö are summarized in his Vom Rorima zum Orinoco. He met two "hordes" of "Schiriana" in 1911 on the upper Uraricuera (Parima) River of Brazil. One group, whose

114 village was on the upper Uraricapará, a left tributary of the Uraricuera, visited his camp on the Purumamé Rapids of the Uraricuera.[1] The second group, which he met about a month later, was settled on a small stream (Motomotó) off the Parima River near the Marutani Mountains. The latter group fled shortly after he contacted them; they feared the photographic equipment and firearms carried by the members of the expedition. Most of Koch-Grünberg's material comes from his contact with the first group and is limited to brief descriptions of physical type, material culture, house styles, body decorations, and a short vocabulary of the language (1923: 300ff; 1928). He was the first to conclude that the Guaica, Kirishana, Guaharibo, and Schiriana were in all probability the same group:

> We can admit with great probability that the Guaharibo are very closely related to, if not the same tribe as, the Schirianá of the Uraricuéra, just as the Waikas of the Parima Mountains may not be a group distinct from the tribe bearing that same name on the upper Uraricuéra. (My translation. 1923:299. See also pp. 290, 291 and his 1922 work, p. 225.)

As significant as this accurate conclusion in the development of Yanomamö ethnography is his inaccurate vignette of the economy and settlement pattern of this large group:

> In view of entire culture content (Habitus) I should like to consider the Schirianá and Waika as an extremely old population layer of these areas that, similar to the more primitive Makú of the Rio Negro area, is found scattered in small, mutually hostile bands having no fixed habitation site in the headwaters of the upper Uraricuéra tributaries and beyond to the upper Orinoco, and lives only on hunting,
> . . . .

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[1] This is the group studied more recently by Migliazza, 1964.

> fishing and collecting forest fruits. (1923: 299-300. My translation. See also 1922:226.)

[224] [illegible] [222] His assertion that the Yąnomamö lived only on hunting, fishing, and collecting wild forest fruit was unsupported not only by the existing accounts but also by his own observations; and it has never been verified by any field worker who has spent more than a few days with the Yąnomamö.[1] Nor was the conclusion warranted that the Yąnomamö had no fixed habitation sites; Koch-Grünberg was visited by one of the groups and the other had a garden site a short distance from where he met them. Finally, the antiquity of the group as a "population layer" is something that can only be speculated about at best; indeed, the concept 'population layer' is itself an analytic construct presupposing a considerable amount of knowledge concerning tribal distributions over a period of time which, at least for this area, is entirely lacking.

The expedition of the Frobenius Institute in 1954-55 conducted the first anthropological inquiry in this area that concentrated exclusively on the study of the Yąnomamö. The members of the expedition, Otto Zerries and his assistant, Meinhard Schuster, spent 10 months in the village of Mahekọdotedi. They selected the Yąnomamö because of their interest in hunters and gatherers; the literature, especially the work of Koch-Grünberg, described the Yąnomamö as such. They

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[1] "It is surprising to notice, that the Waica, formerly reported as a hunting and gathering tribe by visitors who had only superficial contact with them, are actually horticulturists." (Zerries, 1955:78.)

114 initiated their work among this group, in Zerries' words, ". . . to come a step closer to the problem of the world's oldest cultural layer of the hunter and collector."[1] On arriving at Mahekodo-tedi, however, Zerries was surprised to discover that the Yąnomamö were not in fact hunters and gatherers, but horticulturists:

> To our great surprise we were obliged to conclude right from the start of our investigations that the Waika are above all dependent on the cultivation of the plantain (platano) to a considerable degree. (1958:177. My translation.)

114 174 224 222 241 Although Zerries acknowledges the current horticultural status of the Yąnomamö, his work is frequently characterized by attempts to portray the Yąnomamö as hunting and gathering people who have only recently adopted cultivation and are still in transition from a pure hunting and gathering stage to a purely horticultural one. Thus, Zerries argues that the Yąnomamö divide their year into seasons fixed by the ripening of individual species of wild fruits (which I have not been able to verify), implies that peach palm (pijiguao) was recently a collected rather than a cultivated fruit, describes the Yąnomamö settlement pattern and annual cycle as half-nomadic or semi-nomadic, and generally emphasizes the role of hunting and collecting in determining the cultural status of the Yąnomamö in South American culture history, all of which detract, I believe, from an understanding of their culture as it exists at the present time and probably has

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[1] 1964:1. My translation.

114 existed for the past several hundred years. At many points
174 221 the data used by Zerries to infer that they were until
222 recently hunters and gatherers lend themselves to other inter-
241 pretations:

> [192] Finally, the Waika connect the general word for food, "ni," with the word for archery, "niai," out of which results that in their conceptual world, subsistence itself in the last analysis results from hunting--which is symptomatic of the way of life of the hunting and gathering heritage of the Waika. (1958:180. My translation.)

114 The word *nii* (not *ni*) usually refers to vegetable food, most
174 192 of which is cultivated by the Yąnomamö and generally does
221 not include meat. The word for the latter, *yąro*, conversely,
222 does not apply to vegetable food. Again, there are two words
241 to describe hunger; *ohi* refers to that kind of hunger that can be satisfied by eating vegetable food, whereas *naiiki* is a kind of hunger that can only be satisfied by eating meat or fish. And, it is possible for individuals *not* to be *ohi* but be *naiiki*. One could easily argue that subsistence and cultivation are intimately linked, as their word for one form of hunger (*ohi*) is similar to their word for taro: *ohina*. The similarity, then, between the word for archery (*niaö*) and vegetable food (*nii*, not *ni*) tells us nothing about the cultural status of the Yąnomamö either in the past or at the present.

114 In general, Zerries' data are excellent and his conclusions sound; and his major work (1964) will remain the basic ethnographic source on the Yąnomamö for many years.

The Frobenius Expedition was followed by the work of

114 Hans Becher, who conducted field work in two Yąnomamö villages on the upper Demini and the Aracá rivers (Pakidái and Surára) from October 1955 to June 1956. His results are summarized in his 1960 monograph, a general description of all aspects of Yąnomamö culture.

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619 His analysis of Yąnomamö social organization is inadequate and misleading, particularly his treatment of the political organization about which he asserts that the Yąnomamö are divided into two large, antagonistic political blocs:

> The suggestion of the Surára headman is significant in this connection, according to which there are, within the Yanonámi People, two powerful tribes that constantly make war upon each other; first, the Xiriána, whose name for themselves is "Harateri," and, secondly, the Waiká. All of the smaller tribes are on the side of one or the other, but are at the same time liable to them for tribute and war duty. (1960:6. See also p. 73 and his 1957a:119 and 1957b:115 comments. Zerries [1964:1] expresses his dissatisfaction with this interpretation also. My translation.)

114 In 1958 and 1960 Johannes Wilbert briefly visited Yąnomamö (Sanema) villages in the upper Ventuari River and upper Caura River, summarizing his results in his 1963 publication.

Although Wilbert regards the villages he visited as representative of the Yąnomamö villages described in the works of Zerries and Becher, his reports are somewhat at variance with the accounts of the latter, particularly with respect to economy and aspects of social organization. On these topics Wilbert tends to accept Koch-Grünberg's state-

114 ments rather uncritically, largely because they support his own theory that 'Paleo-Indian' culture, Chibchan language, and low Diego gene frequency are correlated in South America. In treating Yąnomamö economy as 'Paleo-Indian' in nature, Wilbert ignores the only data based on field work bearing on Yąnomamö economic life--that reported by Zerries and Becher in the two monographs mentioned above.

Again, it is difficult to determine when Wilbert is reporting facts, when he is making theoretical conclusions, or when he is guessing. This is particularly true of his comments on social organization and data relevant to analyzing it:

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> We did not succeed, for lack of an informant, in obtaining a list of kinship terms. Our impression is that it would be an Hawaiian System. (1963:211. My translation. [His statements in other publications are quite emphatic on this point: "The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type." Layrisse, Layrisse, and Wilbert, 1962:82.])

The kinship terminology of the groups in the area visited by Wilbert is bifurcate-merging (Iroquois) in type (Migliazza, 1964), as it is in the upper Orinoco area.[1]

114 In addition to the field work conducted by these ethnologists, numerous travelers, adventurers, botanists,

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[1] Migliazza's publication was not available to Wilbert when the latter concluded that the Yąnomamö have an Hawaiian kinship terminology. A part of the discrepancy between Wilbert's data and that reported by Zerries (1964) and Becher (1960) stems from the fact that Wilbert's Sanema differ appreciably from the more southerly Yąnomamö groups. Wilbert, however, intends his generalizations on the Sanema to apply to all the Yąnomamö. I might point out that my own analysis applies to the Upper Orinoco and Mavaca River Yąnomamö. See Conclusions, Chapter 6.

1

114 geographers and explorers have from time to time passed through or near the Yąnomamö area. Their observations have not materially increased our knowledge or understanding of Yąnomamö culture except, in a few instances, in a geographic-distributional sense. Koch-Grünberg (1922) and Otto Zerries (1964:7 ff.) have summarized the results. Finally, a number of missonaries or linguists employed by missions have made significant contributions to Yąnomamö ethnography. Of major importance are the works of James P. Barker (1953, 1959) and Ernesto Migliazza (1964, Migliazza and Grimes, 1961).

CHAPTER II

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS OF WARFARE, POLITICAL ALLIANCE, AND SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS[1]

A. The Shortage of Women and Feuding

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*628 *621 721 562 162 578 As outlined in the Introduction, the shortage of women among the Yąnomamö has far-reaching consequences in almost every aspect of their social organization. In this chapter I will establish the general functional relationship between this demographic fact and the dynamics of village feuding, village splitting, and village re-location. These phenomena will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, particularly with reference to the kinship system.

847 - The Yąnomamö practice male and female infanticide.
There are a number of reasons accounting for this practice.
847 854 853 [843] First, young couples do not relish the prospect of a long period of celibacy that pregnancy and lactation taboos impose on them. From the time a woman discovers she is pregnant until the time she weans her child, she is not allowed to have sexual relations. The time period involved varies from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

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[128] [114] [1] The data discussed in this and subsequent chapters are drawn from the 5 villages, listed in Table 1, in which I spent most of my time. The historical and genealogical relationships of these villages are given later in the text. My generalizations on Yąnomamö culture and social organization are applicable to those groups occupying the Upper Orinoco and the Mavaca River basis. (See Map B, next page.)

847 [848] child: he had scrupulously observed the coitus taboo during lactation--the wife had not.

Most cases of infanticide take place when a couple already has a small child. Sickness takes a heavy toll during the early months of a child's life, and women are reluctant to jeopardize a child that has already survived the first two years. So, they frequently kill the new-born so that their older child will have no competition for milk. Bahimi, a woman of some 30 years, killed a new male baby shortly after I started my fieldwork in Bisassi-tedi. She explained, tearfully, that she did not feel that she could successfully raise the new child because she still had a son that was nursing.

847 562 162 These cases do not, however, explain why there is a consistent bias to kill females rather than males. When I discovered how significantly the sex ratio diverged from the expected value of 1.0 in some villages, I tried to get an explanation from the Yąnomamö. I was surprised to find out that they were ignorant of their own bias in killing children. [842] What did come to light, however, was the fact that Yąnomamö prefer to have a male baby for their first child and, if it turns out that the first child is a girl, they will frequently kill her. If, however, a couple prefers to have a girl and the first child is a boy, they generally do not kill the boy.[1]

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[114] [582] [1] Whatever the reason may be for the preference toward males as eldest children, there is one structural effect that deserves further enquiry. Rose (1960) effectively showed that where males tend to marry females that are younger than them-

847 Several kinds of demographic data suggest that the
562 162 rate of female infanticide is high. Table 1 gives the sex
ratios of five Yąnomamö villages. The sex ratio for the total
population sample (576 individuals) gives a more meaningful
estimate of the rate of female infanticide, as there is considerable variation by village in the value of the sex ratio.
The excess of males in the total population (8%) gives a first
562 approximation of the frequency of female infanticide. The
162 628 variation in the sex ratio by the village, on the other hand,
722 expresses the political relationships of the villages to
[583] their allies. That is, the distribution of women in these
five villages is a function of the military requirements of
the particular villages in the marriage alliance network.
Thus, the cline in sex ratio from Reyaboböwei-tedi to Bisaasi-tedi (ignoring the Patanowä-tedi, who are not allied to the
other groups) reflects a dominance gradient in politico-
125 military requirements of each village. The total sample of
847 162 576 individuals must be considered in order to estimate the
628 frequency of female infanticide among the Yąnomamö, but the
562 political relationships between the villages must be under-stood to account for the variation by village of the value

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 59]

847 selves, it is highly unlikely that men will marry a FaSiDa,
562 despite the kinship terminology. Rose did not, however,
162 consider the possibility that sibships may have a systematic
bias in their composition; if males tend to be older than
114 their sisters considering all sibships, the probability that
582 a FaSiDa is of marriageable age is increased. I specifically
questioned the relationship between female infanticide and
FaSiDa marriage, and the Yąnomamö denied any correlation
between the two practices. There can be no doubt, however,
that the occurrence of FaSiDa marriage among the Yąnomamö
is made more probable by female infanticide.

*621
562 avoid the raids from the Patanowä-tedi, the man in question
162 used this opportunity to have an affair with Konoreiwä's
837 wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the
578 village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite
his discretion, and challenged to a duel by Konoreiwä. The
[164] entire village participated in the club fight. Konoreiwä
[684] punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing
fire brand, severely burning her lips.

162 Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is
562 remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This,
721
*628 however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this
583 occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of
political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each
other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for
this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully
527 by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1964 the
574 Patanowä-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in a
*628
72 feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as
361 groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms
in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but
a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed
part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited
and abducted seven women from the Patanowä-tedi. This ultimately
provoked a war between the Patanowä-tedi and Monou-tedi,
and determined the settlement pattern of both groups,
as well as their political activities, all during my field
726 work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I
• 114

726 114 left the field in February 1966, and had by that time involved the Bisaasi-tedi.

*621

B. The Effects of Warfare On Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices[1]

628 837 578 721 [241] When feuds, usually over women, can not be resolved peacefully, club fights between the supporters of the woman's lover and husband develop, leading to village splits and the establishment of mutually hostile, independent villages. The timing of the split, however, is determined by the nature of Yąnomamö agriculture: unless a large village has two gardens separated by a considerable distance, the factions in the feud can not separate to form independent villages.

*628 726 722 241 361 The situation is similar with respect to inter-village warfare and village movement. The Yąnomamö depend to such an extent on their cultivated foods that their pattern of warfare necessitates the formation of political alliances with other groups. Occasionally members of a village find themselves in a situation where they have no choice except to move into the village of an ally and depend on the produce of the latter's garden. For the most part, the Yąnomamö attempt to avoid

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[241] [361] [171] [128] [1] Yąnomamö economy deserves intensive treatment, as certain groups of Yąnomamö practice 'pioneering' slash-and-burn cultivation, i.e., are moving into unoccupied territory. In this, they exhibit some interesting parallels to, and differences from, the Iban of Sarawak (Freeman, 1955. See also Carneiro, 1956 and Conklin, 1961 on shifting cultivation). For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am concerned only with the general limitations that Yąnomamö economic practices impose on settlement pattern and how these practices affect Yąnomamö social organization.

*628 these situations[1] by establishing new gardens as new wars
726 develop; occasionally, however, the wars take on unpredict-
722 able intensity before new gardens can be established, and
241 the members of the villages concerned necessarily seek refuge
361 with their allies.

726 To the Yąnomamö, gardens (hikari) are the fount of
241 subsistence. They acknowledge the relationship between chronic
361 warfare and village relocation by being constantly on the lookout for new lands to settle. Men are always discussing the agricultural merits of the forested areas in which they hunt, and most new sites are selected on the basis of information collected by hunters. Thus, when the Namowei-tedi split up at Patanowä-täka, the Bisaasi-tedi faction moved to Shįhota, an area they knew well because they customarily hunted there.[2] In 1965 the Monou-tedi cleared a new garden
[114] at Moyanaböwei for the same reason. I accompanied hunting
[521] parties from Bisaasi-tedi on several occastions to new areas
not normally frequented by these hunters, and the topic of agriculture invariably came up during the evening résumé of the day's experiences.

*628 Other factors besides density of jungle, type of
361 floral association, and general topography are considered by
241

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[839] [1] They avoid these situations because the hosts usually
demand either sexual access to the women of the refugees, or
[583] wives for their bachelors. The refugees, of course, are reluctant to do either, but are frequently obliged to do both. The cost of the alliance, once again, is measured in terms of women lost.

[2] See Map C, and Chapter 5.

*628 the Yąnomamö when they make new gardens. The relative
361
241 location of friendly and hostile villages with respect to the
new site is very important. The Monou-tedi moved west in
1965, clearing their new site in the direction away from
their major enemies, the Patanowä-tedi. Their allies, the
Mǫmariböwei-tedi and the Reyaboböwei-tedi, lived to their
west. Furthermore, their old enemies, the Möwäraoba-tedi and
Iwahikoroba-tedi, lived to their southeast, a direction the
Monou-tedi wished to avoid. Finally, by moving to the west,
the Monou-tedi crossed a large river (Mavaca), a natural
barrier that would interfere with the retreat of raiding
parties that initiated in the east.

361 Another factor influences the choice of site when the
241 members of a village must abandon their existing garden: the
245 location of a previously cultivated site. Old gardens are
desirable sites because they continue to produce peach palm
long after they are deserted. As the fruit of this palm
seasonally provides an important and desirable addition to
the diet of the Yąnomamö, they prefer to move into an old
garden rather than start a new peach palm grove from seedlings.
The Yąnomamö frequently return to their old, abandoned sites
361 in order to harvest the peach palm crop. This is usually a
241
245 dangerous undertaking, as their old enemies are also aware of
• 114 the fruit, and exploit it themselves. In February 1965 I
*628 accompanied a group of Bisaasi-tedi men to Barawä-täka,[1]

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[1] See Map C, and Chapter 5.

361
241 abandoned in about 1959, to harvest the peach palm of that
245 garden. We approached the site with great caution lest we
• 114
*628 run into a group of Patanowä-tedi. We discovered that somebody, probably the Patanowä-tedi, had beaten us to the garden and harvested the fruit.

782 During 1965 raids were so intense on the Patanowä-
361 tedi that they were forced to abandon their site at Patanowä-
241
*628 täka. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi predicted that the Patanowä-tedi would make their new site at one of two possible locations: Shɨhota or Shamata, two abandoned gardens. Their predictions were right on both counts, for the Patanowä-tedi began utilizing both sites because peach palm was to be found at either. By occupying two sites, the Patanowä-tedi were also better able to avoid their enemies by moving frequently from one to the other.

The several variables to be considered in re-locating villages during especially hostile wars may be briefly summarized: (1) the members of a village will make their new garden site in a direction away from their major enemy; (2) if the members of a village have allies, they tend to make their new garden in the direction of these allies, provided that the direction brings them no closer to their enemies; (3) if abandoned villages whose gardens contain producing groves of peach palm are to be found in a suitable direction from the old site, these will be the ideal choices for new garden sites.

The cultivation practices of the Monou-tedi in 1965

584 affair with his wife. The parties in question armed them-
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591 selves with sharpened clubs and faced each other in the
578 center of the village, but actual fighting was averted. De-
835
613 spite the legitimacy of Rerebawä's claims, no one stepped
*621 forward to take his side in the feud, so he backed down.
627
After this incident, Rerebawä threatened to kill Koima, but
[602] the headman dissuaded him. Koima and her mother then fled to Monou-tedi and took refuge with kinsmen there, reducing the probability of Rerebawä shooting Koima. Her mother tried to coax her into abiding by the wishes of her kinsmen and go to Rerebawä, but she obstinately refused. She ultimately eloped with Bäkotawä, and the two of them fled to a distant village on the Padamo River. Rerebawä discovered where they had gone and attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Koima. If she returns to Bisaasi-tedi she will be given to Rerebawä, who will have ample reason to thrash her soundly.

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B. Yąnomamö Kinship[1]

The structural relationships between descent groups within Yąnomamö villages can be expressed in terms of dyadic kin ties. Considerable theoretical attention has been devoted to this analytical procedure in recent structural treatments

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[601] [1] Migliazza (1964) published a kinship diagram for the
[114] Uraricaa Yąnomamö. Although the terms differ from those current among the Upper Orinoco Yąnomamö, the pattern (Iroquois)
[128] is the same. I defer discussion of the complete kinship terminology to a later publication, as there are enough peculiarities in usage to warrant a more complete treatment than would be appropriate here.

602 of social organization,[1] and in analyses of particular societies.[2] It is not assumed here that the nature of the [114] social organization itself stems from the nature of the sentiments associated with particular dyadic kin ties, as was implied in Homans and Schneider's work (1955). Dyadic ties are a product of political, military, ideological and economic forces that shape Yąnomamö social organization, and reflect, rather than cause, that organization.

Of the large number of logically possible kinship dyads, only a few have structural relevance to this analysis. In particular, ties between agnates and ties between brothers-in-law must be considered to render intelligible the mechanics of Yąnomamö social organization.

602 +621 578 Ties between distantly related agnates are the most ambiguous, and the ones that usually break when villages split. Conversely, ties between closely related agnates are strong and less likely to be severed in village splits.

607 Of the affinal ties, those linking brothers-in-law to each other are of the greatest structural importance and are often stronger than ties between distantly related agnates. 606 601 Secondarily, ties between a man and his son-in-law are strong, but have fewer structural consequences than either brother-in-law (*shoriwä*) or brother (*aiwä*, *osheya*) ties.

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[1] Levi-Strauss, 1963, Ch. 2; Needham, 1962, Ch. 2.

[2] Leach, 1957.

Table 4: Age and Sex Distribution of the Yanomamö Population.[1]

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Frequency Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	55	48	103	68	14	288
Females	36	42	77	60	23	238
Totals:	91	90	190	128	37	526
Percentage Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	10.5	9.1	19.6	12.9	2.7	54.8
Females	6.8	8.0	14.6	11.4	4.4	45.2
Totals:	17.3	17.1	34.2	24.3	7.1	100.0

[114]
[128]

[1] Based on residents of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, Patanowä-tedi, Mömariböwei-tedi, and Reyaboböwei-tedi. I was not able to get age estimates on a number of individuals in Reyaboböwei-tedi and Patanowä-tedi, accounting for the difference in total population given in Table 5, Chapter IV. The sex ratio for the above population is 1.22, and male excess is 9.5%, compared to 1.19 and 8.35% in Table 5.

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[722]

effectiveness of the raiding party. As someone must stay home to guard the women, the guards usually come from the too young and too old. Usually, however, one or two 'waitedi' (fierce ones), men who have a great deal of experience in warfare and who would bravely defend the village, also remain behind. Thus, a village of 100 people could, at best, 78 72 *[62] organize a raiding party of approximately 20 to 25 men.[1]

The smallest raiding party I saw during my field work comprised 10 men. This seems to be the lower limit to the size of an effective raiding party; most raiding parties are of the order of 35-40 men, although I have seen as many as 60 men leave on a raid.[2] There are several reasons why 701 703 721 raiding parties require ten or more men. First, the Yąnomamö are not brave warriors; in a party of 10 men, a significant fraction of them would rather remain in the village where it is safer, and these men always look for excuses to drop out of the raiding party before the party meets and joins the enemy. The usual excuses given are sickness or sore feet. Thus, even in small raiding parties there is considerable dissent among the men, particularly the younger ones. Such problems would be insurmountable if the party contained fewer than ten men, as even the most determined of the raiders would lose his enthusiasm by listening to the complaints and pessimistic comments of the more reluctant members of the raiding party. 701 703 721 123 114 I accompanied one Monou-tedi raiding party a portion of the way to their objective; most of the younger men in the raiding party complained of having dysentery, malaria, or sore feet. I had promised to give them malaria

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[1] This presumes that there are no sick or injured men in the village; there are always some.

*[628] [2] The larger raiding parties are always composite, involving the members of two or more villages.

701 703 pills before the raiding party left, but I forgot them.
721 This almost ended the raiding party, as the younger men
123 jumped on this as an excuse to stay home. The older men,
114 however, forced them into line and severly chastized them for
being cowardly.

701 Raiding tactics also require that approximately ten
721 men be included in the raiding party. The raiding party
725 usually splits into two or more groups when it approaches
the village of the enemy. This increases the probability that the raid will be successful; two groups are more likely to confront individuals of the enemy village while at the same time splitting up reduces the possibility that the raiders will be accidentally discovered by the enemy. After the raiders shoot one or more of the enemy, they retreat in a standardized pattern. Groups of two men retreat a specified distance, their retreat being covered by two men who lie in ambush along the trail most likely to be taken by pursuers. The guarding pair then retreats, being covered by the first pair who lie in ambush. If the raiding party has separated into two groups, retreat tactics will necessitate at least 8 men.

721 The purpose of a raid is to kill one or more of the
727 enemy and retreat before being discovered. A raid is successful only if one or more of the enemy is killed and none of the raiders is wounded or killed. When a joint raiding party from Mahekodo-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi raided Riakowä's village in the early '50s to revenge the deaths of two

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FIVE YĄNOMAMÖ VILLAGES

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[114] I shall briefly outline in this chapter the history of the movements of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Patanowä-tedi, Mǫmariböwei-tedi and Reyaboböwei-tedi, including those movements during the fifteen-month period (November 1964 through [175] February 1966) covered by my field work. The historical data [126] I collected on village movements enable me to discuss the village histories from about 1875 to the present.

*628 *62 174 175 103 128 The first three of the above-mentioned groups lived together at one time and the present residents of these villages are closely related. The last site they occupied as one village was called Namowei-tedi, and for sake of simplicity I adopt this name in the discussion of their movements up to that point in time. Similarly, the last two villages of the five mentioned above have a common history, being called Paruritawä-tedi immediately prior to their splitting in 1960.

*621 *628 121 722 361 602 I wish to make several points in the discussion that follows. The histories indicate (1) that villages move only when forced to do so by raids from other villages; (2) that villages are structurally unstable and tend to split into factions because of internal disputes; (3) that the newly-established cognate villages frequently enter into hostilities with each other; and (4) that it is necessary to know the

174 175 *621 *628 remained on good terms with each other. Their split occurred in 1954, perhaps a year earlier.

When I initiated my field work in 1964 Monou-täka 361 241 *114 922 was still occupied, but its population, the Monou-tedi, was in the process of making a new garden (Moyanaböwei) west of Monou to avoid the raids of the Patanowä-tedi, with whom they had entered into a new war in 1964.

175 177 361 648 *[621] The faction that moved to Barawä remained at that site about five years. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River, taking the name Bisaasi-tedi, in 1959, splitting into two villages, each located on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. By 1958 the Venezuelan Government had initiated a malaria-control program in this area of Amazonas and had established a small field station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Venezuelans associated with this field station invited the Barawä-tedi to move to the Mavaca River; the Indians accepted the invitation, hoping to gain access to steel tools. This was the beginning of contact with outsiders for the Kreiböwei-tedi; prior to 1959 the only foreigners they had known were the missionary at Mahekodo-tedi, James P. Barker, and the members of the Frobenius Institute Expedition, Meinhard Schuster and Otto Zerries, who they visited occasionally at Mahekodo-tedi.

174 175 *628 361

Area 12: Bisaasi-tedi

The Bisaasi-tedi began friendly contacts with a Shamatari village, Paruritawä-tedi, after they moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River.

628 Bisaasi-tedi are the dominant partners in the bride-exchange
583 network with their Shamatari allies, a dominance that is reflected in the disproportionate number of women they have managed to coerçe out of their allies.

361 While I conducted my field work the Bisaasi-tedi
621 lived in two villages on opposite banks of the Mavaca River.
114 The group on the east bank was beginning to split by the time I left the field, and the split took place a few months later,[1] one of the factions moving to the north bank of the Orinoco River, but still within view of the other group.

174

B. The History of the Paruritawä-tedi

621 The Shamatari came into being as an identifiable group shortly before 1900. The Shamatari identity, as I have shown above (p. 28 ff.), is a function of the historical connections between the villages that split off from Shịhowä-tedi's parental group, as well as geographical considerations.

My informants consistently spoke of two 'true' Shamatari men: Kayabawä (Shamatari) and Matakuwä. The villages of these two men have a common origin, but I was unable to get data on the nature of the events that led to the seperation of these two groups. This event took place long before the life-span of my oldest informants, and none of them knew any details of the splitting. By 1875, however,
195 there were two distinct Shamatari groups north of the Orinoco
101
361 headwaters, one of which bore the name Shịhowä-tedi. Kayabawä

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[1] Personal communication, James P. Barker.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

174 175 others. Matakuwä's group was being raided by Kayabawä's
*621 followers and by the splinter group that separated from
*628 Aramamisi-käkö. These raids forced Matakuwä and his followers
[722] to abandon Aramamisi-käkö and settle at Shɨrakoböwei. This
move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shɨrakoböwei

174 175 Matakuwä's followers established several sites in
361 722 this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabawä's
*621 followers. An internal village feud developed between the
578 factions led respectively by Karehewä and Orakawä. During
174 175 the fighting a young man from Karehewä's group was killed
*621 with a spear, and Karehewä moved to the Mavaca basin.
361 726 Karehewä's followers raided the group at Shɨrakoböwei, and
the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewä to move further
174 175 north. Karehewä's son, Riakowä, became headman of this vil-
621 lage and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which
*229 529 the Kreiböwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village
578 [003] is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowä's
*621 son, Börösöwä. In 1965 rumors reached the Bisaasi-tedi that
361 Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving
*621 down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted un-
114 successfully to make the first contact with this group, but
my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signr
(bridges and trails) made by Börösöwä's group. They feared
Börösöwä would kill us.

174 *621 361 Another faction, led by Waiyahowä, split off from

174 175 and move to Kakamoba. This site was occupied for just a few
361 years, and by 1950 Sibarariwä's group was living at Amạrokobö-
*628 722 wei: the 1950 treacherous feast for the Kreiböwei-tedi was
[529] conducted while Sibarariwä's group was here. After 1950
[574] [726] Sibarariwä's group fled south to avoid the raids of the
survivors of that treacherous feast, establishing the garden
of Dạdamoböwei. This garden was abandoned because of raids
mounted by the Paruritawä-tedi, and Sibarariwä returned to
174 Amạrokoböwei about 1955. The Paruritawä-tedi eventually
175 *628 became friendly to Sibarariwä's group and were able to lure
574 some of them, at the instigation of the Monou-tedi and
529 726 Bisaasi-tedi, to a treacherous feast in 1960, during which
three men were murdered and four women captured. In 1964
361 *628 Sibarariwä's group moved to the headwaters of the Mavaca
726 River, being known as the Möwäraoba-tedi. Monou-tedi and
• [114] Mọ̈mariböwei-tedi sent a raiding party against them at this
location about the time I started my field work, and killed
one man.

Area 6: Paruritawä-tedi

174 175 The Paruritawä-tedi made friendly contact with the
*628 Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi about 1960, and have entered
629 574 into alliance with these groups. The Monou-tedi and the
726 Bisaasi-tedi persuaded the Paruritawä-tedi to invite members
of Sibarariwä's group to a feast in 1960 and, with the aid
of the Paruritawä-tedi, murdered three men and seized four
[361] [722] women. Sibarariwä's group avenged this by mounting raids

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

174 175 *628 527 574 726 361 *[621] [722] against the Paruritawä-tedi, and the latter abandoned their site and moved north. When they abandoned Paruritawä-tedi, the group split into two factions, each making a separate garden: Mǫ̈mariböwei and Reyaboböwei. The two factions are still on friendly terms with each other and both are allied to the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. The Reyaboböwei-tedi are presently attempting rapprochement with Sibarariwä's group, and are being forced by their allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, to use their newly established friendship to effect another treacherous feast. *628 527 574 726 In February 1965 the Reyaboböwei-tedi succeeded in inviting Sibarariwä's entire village to a feast and were intending to trick them after they arrived. However, one of the individuals met Sibarariwä's group half-way and warned them of the treachery, frustrating the attempt by the Bisaasi-tedi, the Monou-tedi, and the Paruritawä-tedi to get their revenge on Sibarariwä's group.

721 C. The War Pattern From November 1964 to February 1966

[178] The effects of raiding and internal feuds on village composition, stability, splitting, and relocation that I have described above may also be observed among these villages at [114] the present time. Raiding was intense during my field work. Patanowä-tedi, for example, was raided at least 25 times while I was in the field, raids that were mounted by a dozen [922] different villages. Not all the raids were successful, but the frequency of the raiding was so high that it was never safe for the Patanowä-tedi to venture away from the village.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

128 In the body of this dissertation I have attempted to demonstrate that two variables in particular exert an overriding effect on Yąnomamö social structure. These are, respectivley, the shortage of women and the intensity of actual warfare. In this final chapter, I should like to accomplish two ends. First, I should like to set my conclusions against different material recently gathered among the Yąnomamö in northern Brazil.[1] Second, I should like to bring my material to bear on the discussion between Leach (1957) and Fortes (1959a, 1959b) regarding the relationship of kinship, marriage ties, descent and politics.

121 721 582 183 Let us turn first to comparative Yąnomamö ethnology. If it is true, as I have argued, that warfare enhances the

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[114] [1] After I had completed the text of the thesis I had an opportunity to discuss with Ernesto Migliazza the social organization of a number of Brazilian Yąnomamö groups. Migliazza, a linguist, spent nearly six years among the Uraricaá Yąnomamö, working for a Baptist Mission and, more recently, for the Goeldi Museum in Belém. I thank him for permission to use much of the comparative material presented below; some of it has already been published in his 1964 work. I introduce this new data because it very effectively demonstrates the interrelationships between the variables discussed in the thesis. I would have arrived at the same conclusions, by employing arguments similar to those used by Meggitt (1965), but the contrast provided by this new material makes the conclusions more defensible.

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131 accusations of sorcery or by the desire to abduct woemn.
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[1964) Another major difference between the Uraricaá and
184 the Mavaca Yąnomamö is the manner in which they treat extra-
837 marital liaisons. On the Uraricaá, liaisons are tacitly
578
permitted and fighting rarely develops between a man and his wife's lover. Should fighting occur, it is generally caused by some incident unrelated to the affair itself. In short, men permit their wives to have extra-marital affairs, provided the women are discreet.

184 Of major analytical significance is the fact that
*628 the Uraricaá Yąnomamö closely adhere to their rules of
582 ambilateral cross-cousin marriage.[1] This stems from the fact
583
that political alliances between villages there never involve the transfer of women from one group to the other. The Yąnomamö of the Uraricaá are endogamous within each congeries
721 of villages having a common history. It would seem, therefore,
182 that the absence of intensive warfare permits marriage practice
582 to follow marriage rules.

184 The Uraricaá settlement pattern and village organiza-
361 tion differ considerably from those found among the Yąnomamö
*621 of the Mavaca basin. What I have called a small village of 40 people among the latter segments, on the Uraricaá, into clusters of extended family units separated from each other by as much as half a mile (Migliazza, 1964). The village in which Migliazza lived, for example, comprised 80 persons

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[114] [1] Migliazza was not able to give me statistical data on actual marriage practices. I intend to collect this kind of information in January-February 1967 when I visit the Uraricaá area.

114 Among the Yąnomamö consanguineal kinship does not
121 have the quality attributed to kinship in general by Fortes,
602 and we therefore cannot explain the stability that exists
in terms of these alleged properties. The fact that affinal
ties do promote a certain amount of stability between Yąnomamö
descent groups supports Leach's arguments, and, for the
reasons implied by Leach: Yąnomamö marriages occur within a
political context that promotes military obligations and con-
comitants not predictable from first principles regarding the
[613] putative nature of kinship itself. Descent groups exchange
[583] women with an eye toward maximizing military advantage in a
[582] milieu of hostile political relationships. The stability
[424] brought about by such marriages is, therefore, largely a
[681] function of the politico-military ends served by marriage
and is only tangentially, if at all, a result of kinship.

121 I would also like to discuss the nature of the relationship between corporation and descent from another point of view, for the nature of the estate of the Yąnomaö descent corporation gives a particular quality to the corporation. Most corporate lineal descent groups have as one of their major functions the control over and disposition of property. The property is usually real property. Pastoralists, of course, have as their estates, herds and use rights to forage areas. Some Northwest Coast and northern California tribes have corporate groups whose estates are acorn groves and portions of salmon streams.

In addition to real property, corporate groups

Foreword

About the Series

These case studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students, in beginning and intermediate courses in the social sciences, insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of ways of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and the other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful. 000

About the Author

Napoleon Chagnon was born the second of twelve children in Port Austin, Michigan, in 1938. He is married and has two children. At present he is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology and holds a joint appointment as Research Associate in the Department of Human Genetics, University of Michigan Medical School. This department has developed a long-term project for the study of the Yąnomamö from a medical-genetics viewpoint in a team approach involving specialists in several fields. Dr. Chagnon is the ethnological member of the team. He began his academic training in the Michigan College of Mining and Technology, but switched to anthropology, receiving a B.A. in anthropology at the University of Michigan in 1961, an M.A. in 1963, and a Ph.D. in 1966. He has spent nineteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö of Venezuela and Brazil, studying demography, social organization, and warfare, and about one month with the Carib-speaking Makiritare of Brazil and Venezuela, studying social organization. He has published several articles in *Natural History* and *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science* and has presented papers at meetings of the American Anthropological Association and the National Academy of Science. He plans to return to the Yąnomamö in several field trips over the next three years, having completed two cooperative trips with members of the Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Científicas. 114 [[21]]

About the Book

This is ~~indeed a~~ book about a fierce people. Yąnomamö culture, in its major focus, reverses the meanings of "good" and "desirable" as phrased in the ideal postulates of the Judaic-Christian tradition. A high capacity for rage, a quick flash point, and a will- 181

181 ingness to use violence to obtain one's ends are considered desirable traits. Much of the
behavior of the Yąnomamö can be described as brutal, cruel, treacherous, in the value-
laden terms of our own vocabulary. The Yąnomamö themselves, however, as Napoleon
[114] Chagnon came to intimately know them in the year and a half he lived with them, do
not all appear to be mean and treacherous. As individuals, they seem to be people playing
their own cultural game, with internal feelings that at times may be quite divergent from
[121] the demands placed upon them by their culture. This case study furnishes valuable data
for phrasing questions about the relationship between the individual and his culture.

[276] The Yąnomamö appear to be constantly on the verge of extranormal behavior, as we define it, and their almost daily use of hallucinogenic drugs reinforces these drives to what might seem to the outside observer to be the limits of human capacity. Life in their villages is noisy, punctuated by outbursts of violence, threatened by destruction by enemies. To the ethnographer it is frightening, frustrating, disgusting, exciting, and rewarding, and in this case study the ethnographer lets the reader know how he feels. His honest reactions help us, as interested outsiders, to know the Yąnomamö.

121 This is a study of a fierce people who engage in chronic warfare. It is also a study
726 of a system of controls that usually hold in check the drive toward annihilation. Conflict among the Yąnomamö is regulated through a series of graded escalations, from chest-pounding and side-slapping duels, through club fighting, spear throwing, to raiding in a state of war, to the ultimate—the *nomohori*—massacre by treachery. The processes of avoidance, settlement, or escalation of disputes are discussed in detail in this case study. There are implications that range beyond the Yąnomamö, and beyond primitive peoples, to the "civilized" world in which we live, for we too live in a state of chronic warfare and are threatened by annihilation.

121 The Yąnomamö goad each other, within their own villages, to the brink of an
578 explosion (and they goaded the ethnographer in the same way). This hostility is
[123] projected on a larger scale in the negotiating of alliances between villages. Each principal must establish the credibility of his own threats, as well as discover the point at which the opposite party's bluffing will dissolve into action. It is, as the author says, a politics of brinksmanship, all too familiar to us.

128 The study is, however, not confined to a description of regulated violence. Dr. Chagnon provides us with an unusually clear chapter on social organization, with the genealogical details of kinship. The models he produces in his analysis are cast in sharper relief because he also discusses deviations from these models in actual behavior. He links social organization with the processes of fission that produce new villages and the alliances that are created in response to the threat of annihilation, reinforced and validated by the mutual ceding of women between villages. Social organization is presented not as an abstraction but as a dynamic process interrelated with other significant dimensions of life. The anthropological novice will find the analysis of social organization detailed but, with close attention, entirely understandable. The more experienced anthropological reader will grasp the full theoretical implications of the analysis and will find the author's references to various debates in the anthropological literature stimulating.

1

Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö

101 131 THE YĄNOMAMÖ[1] INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions
161 of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. iv). Some 125 widely scattered vil-
162 lages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people
361 the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000
people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by
101 outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are,
177 or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the
Yąnomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes
left in all of South America.

721 But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yą-
773 nomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according
181 to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos,
causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yąnomamö as "the fierce people" because
that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive
themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

114 I spent nineteen months with the Yąnomamö,[2] during which time I acquired some
122 proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and
123 way of life.

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[1] The word Yąnomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark [ą]. When
this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-ö] represents a sound that does
[194] not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phone [ɨ] of linguistic orthography. In normal conver-
sation, Yąnomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that it is nasalized. Finally, the words having
the [-ä] vowel are pronounced as that vowel with the "uh" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kąobawä would
be pronounced "cow-ba-wuh," again nasalized.

[2] I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yąnomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yąnomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yąnomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yąnomamö, January through April 1968.

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The fact that the Yąnomamö live in a state of chronic warfare is reflected in their mythology, values, settlement pattern, political behavior, and marriage practices. Accordingly, I have organized this case study in such a way that students can appreciate the effects of warfare on Yąnomamö culture in general and on their social organization and politics in particular (Fig. 1-2).

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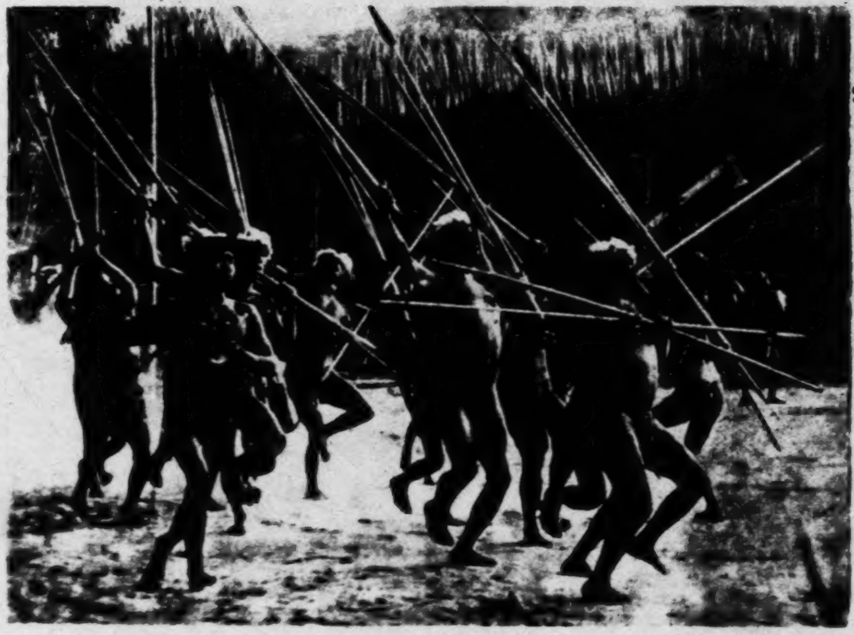
I collected the data under somewhat trying circumstances, some of which I will describe in order to give the student a rough idea of what is generally meant when anthropologists speak of "culture shock" and "fieldwork." It should be borne in mind, however, that each field situation is in many respects unique, so that the problems I encountered do not necessarily exhaust the range of possible problems other anthropologists have confronted in other areas. There are a few problems, however, that seem to be nearly universal among anthropological fieldworkers, particularly those having to do with eating, bathing, sleeping, lack of privacy and loneliness, or discovering that primitive man is not always as noble as you originally thought.

This is not to state that primitive man everywhere is unpleasant. By way of contrast, I have also done limited fieldwork among the Yąnomamö's northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. This group was very pleasant and charming, all

Fig. 1-2. One way that warfare affects other aspects of Yąnomamö social organization is in the great significance of intervillage alliances. Here members of an allied village dance excitedly in their hosts' village in anticipation of the feast and chest-pounding duel that will follow.



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114 of them anxious to help me and honor bound to show any visitor the numerous courtesies of their system of etiquette. In short, they approached the image of primitive man that I had conjured up, and it was sheer pleasure to work with them. The recent work by Colin Turnbull (1966) brings out dramatically the contrast in personal characteristics of two African peoples he has studied.

Hence, what I say about some of my experiences is probably equally true of the experiences of many other fieldworkers. I write about my own experiences because there is a conspicuous lack of fieldwork descriptions available to potential fieldworkers. I think I could have profited by reading about the private misfortunes of my own teachers; at least I might have been able to avoid some of the more stupid errors I made. In this regard there are a number of recent contributions by fieldworkers describing some of the discomforts and misfortunes they themselves sustained.[3] Students planning to conduct fieldwork are urged to consult them.

My first day in the field illustrated to me what my teachers meant when they spoke of "culture shock." I had traveled in a small, aluminum rowboat propelled by a large outboard motor for two and a half days. This took me from the Territorial capital, a small town on the Orinoco River, deep into Yąnomamö country. On the morning of the third day we reached a small mission settlement, the field "headquarters" of a group of Americans who were working in two Yąnomamö villages. The missionaries had come out of these villages to hold their annual conference on the progress of their mission work, and were conducting their meetings when I arrived. We picked up a passenger at the mission station, James P. Barker, the first non-Yąnomamö to make a sustained, permanent contact with the tribe (in 1950). He had just returned from a year's furlough in the United States, where I had earlier visited him before leaving for Venezuela. He agreed to accompany me to the village I had selected for my base of operations to introduce me to the Indians. This village was also his own home base, but he had not been there for over a year and did not plan to join me for another three months. Mr. Barker had been living with this particular group about five years.

[312] We arrived at the village, Bisaasi-teri, about 2:00 PM and docked the boat along
the muddy bank at the terminus of the path used by the Indians to fetch their drinking
water. It was hot and muggy, and my clothing was soaked with perspiration. It clung
[136] uncomfortably to my body, as it did thereafter for the remainder of the work. The small,
biting gnats were out in astronomical numbers, for it was the beginning of the dry
114 season. My face and hands were swollen from the venom of their numerous stings. In
123 just a few moments I was to meet my first Yąnomamö, my first primitive man. What
would it be like? I had visions of entering the village and seeing 125 social facts running
about calling each other kinship terms and sharing food, each waiting and anxious to
[121] have me collect his genealogy. I would wear them out in turn. Would they like me?
This was important to me; I wanted them to be so fond of me that they would adopt
me into their kinship system and way of life, because I had heard that successful anthropologists always get adopted by their people. I had learned during my seven years of

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[3] Maybury-Lewis 1967, "Introduction," and 1965b; Turnbull, 1966; L. Bohannan, 1964. Perhaps the most intimate account of the tribulations of a fieldworker is found in the posthumous diary of Bronislaw Malinowski (1967). Since the diary was not written for publication, it contains many intimate, very personal details about the writers' anxieties and hardships.

anthropological training at the University of Michigan that kinship was equivalent to 114
society in primitive tribes and that it was a moral way of life, "moral" being something 123
"good" and "desirable." I was determined to work my way into their moral system of [121]
kinship and become a member of their society.

My heart began to pound as we approached the village and heard the buzz of activity within the circular compound. Mr. Barker commented that he was anxious to see if any changes had taken place while he was away and wondered how many of them had died during his absence. I felt into my back pocket to make sure that my notebook was still there and felt personally more secure when I touched it. Otherwise, I would not have known what to do with my hands.

The entrance to the village was covered over with brush and dry palm leaves. We
pushed them aside to expose the low opening to the village. The excitement of meeting [361]
my first Indians was almost unbearable as I duck-waddled through the low passage into the village clearing.

I looked up and gasped when I saw a dozen burly, naked, filthy, hideous men [515]
staring at us down the shafts of their drawn arrows! Immense wads of green tobacco [276]
were stuck between their lower teeth and lips making them look even more hideous, and strands of dark-green slime dripped or hung from their noses. We arrived at the village while the men were blowing a hallucinogenic drug up their noses. One of the side effects of the drug is a runny nose. The mucus is always saturated with the green
powder and the Indians usually let it run freely from their nostrils. My next discovery [231]
was that there were a dozen or so vicious, underfed dogs snapping at my legs, circling me as if I were going to be their next meal. I just stood there holding my notebook, helpless and pathetic. Then the stench of the decaying vegetation and filth struck me and I almost got sick. I was horrified. What sort of a welcome was this for the person who came here to live with you and learn your way of life, to become friends with you? They put their weapons down when they recognized Barker and returned to their chanting, keeping a nervous eye on the village entrances.

We had arrived just after a serious fight. Seven women had been abducted the 114
day before by a neighboring group, and the local men and their guests had just that 123
morning recovered five of them in a brutal club fight that nearly ended in a shooting 726
war. The abductors, angry because they lost five of the seven captives, vowed to raid the Bisaasi-teri. When we arrived and entered the village unexpectedly, the Indians feared that we were the raiders. On several occasions during the next two hours the men in the village jumped to their feet, armed themselves, and waited nervously for the noise outside the village to be identified. My enthusiasm for collecting ethnographic curiosities diminished in proportion to the number of times such an alarm was raised. In fact, I was relieved when Mr. Barker suggested that we sleep across the river for the evening. It would be safer over there.

As we walked down the path to the boat, I pondered the wisdom of having de- 114
cided to spend a year and a half with this tribe before I had even seen what they were 123
like. I am not ashamed to admit, either, that had there been a diplomatic way out, I would have ended my fieldwork then and there. I did not look forward to the next day when I would be left alone with the Indians; I did not speak a word of their language, and they were decidedly different from what I had imagined them to be. The whole situation was depressing, and I wondered why I ever decided to switch from civil en-

114 123 gineering to anthropology in the first place. I had not eaten all day, I was soaking wet from perspiration, the gnats were biting me, and I was covered with red pigment, the result of a dozen or so complete examinations I had been given by as many burly Indians. [515] These examinations capped an otherwise grim day. The Indians would blow their noses into their hands, flick as much of the mucus off that would separate in a snap of the wrist, wipe the residue into their hair, and then carefully examine my face, arms, legs, hair, and the contents of my pockets. I asked Mr. Barker how to say "Your hands are dirty"; my comments were met by the Indians in the following way: They would "clean" their hands by spitting a quantity of slimy tobacco juice into them, rub them together, and then proceed with the examination.

Mr. Barker and I crossed the river and slung our hammocks. When he pulled his hammock out of a rubber bag, a heavy, disagreeable odor of mildewed cotton came with it. "Even the missionaries are filthy," I thought to myself. Within two weeks, everything I owned smelled the same way, and I lived with that odor for the remainder of the fieldwork. My own habits of personal cleanliness reached such levels that I didn't even mind being examined by the Indians, as I was not much cleaner than they were after I had adjusted to the circumstances.

So much for my discovery that primitive man is not the picture of nobility and sanitation I had conceived him to be. I soon discovered that it was an enormously time-consuming task to maintain my own body in the manner to which it had grown accustomed in the relatively antiseptic environment of the northern United States. Either I could be relatively well fed and relatively comfortable in a fresh change of clothes and do very little fieldwork, or, I could do considerably more fieldwork and be less well fed and less comfortable.

114 122 It is appalling how complicated it can be to make oatmeal in the jungle. First, I had to make two trips to the river to haul the water. Next, I had to prime my kerosene stove with alcohol and get it burning, a tricky procedure when you are trying to mix powdered milk and fill a coffee pot at the same time: the alcohol prime always burned out before I could turn the kerosene on, and I would have to start all over. Or, I would turn the kerosene on, hoping that the element was still hot enough to vaporize the fuel, and start a small fire in my palm-thatched hut as the liquid kerosene squirted all over the table and walls and ignited. It was safer to start over with the alcohol. Then I had to boil the oatmeal and pick the bugs out of it. All my supplies, of course, were carefully stored in Indian-proof, rat-proof, moisture-proof, and insect-proof containers, not one of which ever served its purpose adequately. Just taking things out of the multiplicity of containers and repacking them afterward was a minor project in itself. By the time I had hauled the water to cook with, unpacked my food, prepared the oatmeal, milk, and coffee, heated water for dishes, washed and dried the dishes, repacked the food in the containers, stored the containers in locked trunks and cleaned up my mess, the ceremony of preparing breakfast had brought me almost up to lunch time!

Eating three meals a day was out of the question. I solved the problem by eating a single meal that could be prepared in a single container, or, at most, in two containers, washed my dishes only when there were no clean ones left, using cold river water, and wore each change of clothing at least a week to cut down on my laundry problem, a courageous undertaking in the tropics. I was also less concerned about sharing my provisions with the rats, insects, Indians, and the elements, thereby eliminating the need

for my complicated storage process. I was able to last most of the day on *café con leche*, 114
heavily sugared espresso coffee diluted about five to one with hot milk. I would prepare 122
this in the evening and store it in a thermos. Frequently, my single meal was no more
complicated than a can of sardines and a package of crackers. But at least two or three
times a week I would do something sophisticated, like make oatmeal or boil rice and
add a can of tuna fish or tomato paste to it. I even saved time by devising a water system
that obviated the trips to the river. I had a few sheets of zinc roofing brought in and
made a rain-water trap; I caught the water on the zinc surface, funneled it into an empty
gasoline drum, and then ran a plastic hose from the drum to my hut. When the drum [123]
was exhausted in the dry season, I hired the Indians to fill it with water from the
river.

I ate much less when I traveled with the Indians to visit other villages. Most of 114
the time my travel diet consisted of roasted or boiled green plantains (see Glossary) that 123
I obtained from the Indians, but I always carried a few cans of sardines with me in case 122
I got lost or stayed away longer than I had planned. I found peanut butter and crackers a very nourishing food, and a simple one to prepare on trips. It was nutritious and portable, and only one tool was required to prepare the meal, a hunting knife that could be cleaned by wiping the blade on a leaf. More importantly, it was one of the few foods the Indians would let me eat in relative peace. It looked too much like animal feces to them to excite their appetites.

I once referred to the peanut butter as the dung of cattle. They found this quite repugnant. They did not know what "cattle" were, but were generally aware that I ate several canned products of such an animal. I perpetrated this myth, if for no other reason than to have some peace of mind while I ate. Fieldworkers develop strange defense mechanisms, and this was one of my own forms of adaptation. On another occasion I was eating a can of frankfurters and growing very weary of the demands of one of my guests for a share in my meal. When he asked me what I was eating, I replied: "Beef." He then asked, "What part of the animal are you eating?" to which I replied, "Guess!" He stopped asking for a share.

Meals were a problem in another way. Food sharing is important to the Yąno- 114
mamö in the context of displaying friendship. "I am hungry," is almost a form of greet- 123
ing with them. I could not possibly have brought enough food with me to feed the 183
entire village, yet they seemed not to understand this. All they could see was that I did 574
not share my food with them at each and every meal. Nor could I enter into their system 576
of reciprocities with respect to food; every time one of them gave me something "freely," 262
he would dog me for months to pay him back, not with food, but with steel tools. Thus, if I accepted a plantain from someone in a different village while I was on a visit, he would most likely visit me in the future and demand a machete as payment for the time that he "fed" me. I usually reacted to these kinds of demands by giving a banana, the customary reciprocity in their culture—food for food—but this would be a disappointment for the individual who had visions of that single plantain growing into a machete over time.

Despite the fact that most of them knew I would not share my food with them 114
at their request, some of them always showed up at my hut during mealtime. I gradually 123
became accustomed to this and learned to ignore their persistent demands while I ate. Some of them would get angry because I failed to give in, but most of them accepted

114 it as just a peculiarity of the subhuman foreigner. When I did give in, my hut quickly
123 filled with Indians, each demanding a sample of the food that I had given one of them. If I did not give all a share, I was that much more despicable in their eyes.

A few of them went out of their way to make my meals unpleasant, to spite me for not sharing; for example, one man arrived and watched me eat a cracker with honey
[262] on it. He immediately recognized the honey, a particularly esteemed Yąnomamö food. He knew that I would not share my tiny bottle and that it would be futile to ask. Instead, he glared at me and queried icily, "Shaki![6] What kind of animal semen are you eating on that cracker?" His question had the desired effect, and my meal ended.

Finally, there was the problem of being lonely and separated from your own kind, especially your family. I tried to overcome this by seeking personal friendships among the Indians. This only complicated the matter because all my friends simply used my confidence to gain privileged access to my cache of steel tools and trade goods, and looted me. I would be bitterly disappointed that my "friend" thought no more of me than to finesse our relationship exclusively with the intention of getting at my locked up possessions, and my depression would hit new lows every time I discovered this. The loss of the possession bothered me much less than the shock that I was, as far as most of them were concerned, nothing more than a source of desirable items; no holds were barred in relieving me of these, since I was considered something subhuman, a non-Yąnomamö.

The thing that bothered me most was the incessant, passioned, and aggressive demands the Indians made. It would become so unbearable that I would have to lock myself in my mud hut every once in a while just to escape from it: Privacy is one of Western culture's greatest achievements. But I did not want privacy for its own sake; rather, I simply had to get away from the begging. Day and night for the entire time I lived with the Yąnomamö I was plagued by such demands as: "Give me a knife, I am poor!"; "If you don't take me with you on your next trip to Widokaiya-teri I'll chop a hole in your canoe!"; "Don't point your camera at me or I'll hit you!"; "Share your food with me!"; "Take me across the river in your canoe and be quick about it!"; "Give me a cooking pot!"; "Loan me your flashlight so I can go hunting tonight!"; "Give me medicine . . . I itch all over!"; "Take us on a week-long hunting trip with your shotgun!"; and "Give me an axe or I'll break into your hut when you are away visiting and steal one!" And so I was bombarded by such demands day after day, months on end, until I could not bear to see an Indian.

It was not as difficult to become calloused to the incessant begging as it was to ignore the sense of urgency, the impassioned tone of voice, or the intimidation and aggression with which the demands were made. It was likewise difficult to adjust to the fact that the Yąnomamö refused to accept "no" for an answer until or unless it seethed with passion and intimidation—which it did after six months. Giving in to a demand always established a new threshold; the next demand would be for a bigger item or favor, and the anger of the Indians even greater if the demand was not met. I soon learned

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[553] [6] "Shaki," or, rather, "Shakiwä," is the name they gave me because they could not pronounce "Chagnon." They like to name people for some distinctive feature when possible. *Shaki* is the name of a species of nuisance bee; they accumulate in large numbers around ripening bananas and make pests of themselves by eating into the fruit, showering the people below with the debris. They probably adopted this name for me because I was also a nuisance, continuously prying into their business, taking pictures of them, and, in general, being where they did not want me.

that I had to become very much like the Yąnomamö to be able to get along with them 114
on their terms: sly, aggressive, and intimidating. 123

Had I failed to adjust in this fashion I would have lost six months of supplies to them in a single day or would have spent most of my time ferrying them around in my canoe or hunting for them. As it was, I did spend a considerable amount of time doing these things and did succumb to their outrageous demands for axes and machetes, at least at first. More importantly, had I failed to demonstrate that I could not be pushed around beyond a certain point, I would have been the subject of far more ridicule, theft, and practical jokes than was the actual case. In short, I had to acquire a certain proficiency in their kind of interpersonal politics and to learn how to imply subtly that certain potentially undesirable consequences might follow if they did such and such to me. They do 114
this to each other in order to establish precisely the point at which they cannot goad 123
an individual any further without precipitating retaliation. As soon as I caught on to 152
this and realized that much of their aggression was stimulated by their desire to discover my flash point; I got along much better with them and regained some lost ground. It was sort of like a political game that everyone played, but one in which each individual sooner or later had to display some sign that his bluffs and implied threats could be backed up. I suspect that the frequency of wife beating is a component of this syndrome, since men can display their ferocity and show others that they are capable of violence. Beating a wife with a club is considered to be an acceptable way of displaying ferocity [593]
and one that does not expose the male to much danger. The important thing is that the man has displayed his potential for violence and the implication is that other men better treat him with respect and caution.

After six months, the level of demand was tolerable in the village I used for 114
my headquarters. The Indians and I adjusted to each other and knew what to expect 121
with regard to demands on their part for goods, favors, and services. Had I confined my 123
fieldwork to just that village alone, the field experience would have been far more enjoyable. But, as I was interested in the demographic pattern and social organization of a much larger area, I made regular trips to some dozen different villages in order to collect genealogies or to recheck those I already had. Hence, the intensity of begging and intimidation was fairly constant for the duration of the fieldwork. I had to establish my position in some sort of pecking order of ferocity at each and every village.

For the most part, my own "fierceness" took the form of shouting back at the 114
Yąnomamö as loudly and as passionately as they shouted at me, especially at first, when I 123
did not know much of their language. As I became more proficient in their language and learned more about their political tactics, I became more sophisticated in the art of bluffing. For example, I paid one young man a machete to cut palm trees and make boards from the wood. I used these to fashion a platform in the bottom of my dugout canoe to keep my possessions dry when I traveled by river. That afternoon I was doing in- [199]
formant work in the village; the long-awaited mission supply boat arrived, and most of the Indians ran out of the village to beg goods from the crew. I continued to work in the village for another hour or so and went down to the river to say "hello" to the men on the supply boat. I was angry when I discovered that the Indians had chopped up all my palm boards and used them to paddle their own canoes[5] across the river. I knew that if

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[5] The canoes were obtained from missionaries, who, in turn, got them from a different tribe. [501] [439]

114 123 I overlooked this incident I would have invited them to take even greater liberties with my goods in the future. I crossed the river, docked amidst their dugouts, and shouted for the Indians to come out and see me. A few of the culprits appeared, mischievous grins on their faces. I gave a spirited lecture about how hard I had worked to put those boards in my canoe, how I had paid a machete for the wood, and how angry I was that they destroyed my work in their haste to cross the river. I then pulled out my hunting knife and, while their grins disappeared, cut each of their canoes loose, set it into the current, and let them float away. I left without further ado and without looking back.

They managed to borrow another canoe and, after some effort, recovered their dugouts. The headman of the village later told me with an approving chuckle that I had done the correct thing. Everyone in the village, except, of course, the culprits, supported and defended my action. This raised my status.

Whenever I took such action and defended my rights, I got along much better with the Yąnomamö. A good deal of their behavior toward me was directed with the forethought of establishing the point at which I would react defensively. Many of them later reminisced about the early days of my work when I was "timid" and a little afraid of them, and they could bully me into giving goods away.

Theft was the most persistent situation that required me to take some sort of defensive action. I simply could not keep everything I owned locked in trunks, and the Indians came into my hut and left at will. I developed a very effective means for recovering almost all the stolen items. I would simply ask a child who took the item and then take that person's hammock when he was not around, giving a spirited lecture to the others as I marched away in a faked rage with the thief's hammock. Nobody ever attempted to stop me from doing this, and almost all of them told me that my technique for recovering my possessions was admirable. By nightfall the thief would either appear with the stolen object or send it along with someone else to make an exchange. The others would heckle him for getting caught and being forced to return the item.

121 124 551 114 With respect to collecting the data I sought, there was a very frustrating problem. Primitive social organization is kinship organization, and to understand the Yąnomamö way of life I had to collect extensive genealogies. I could not have deliberately picked a more difficult group to work with in this regard: They have very stringent name taboos. They attempt to name people in such a way that when the person dies and they can no longer use his name, the loss of the word in the language is not inconvenient. Hence, they name people for specific and minute parts of things, such as "toenail of some rodent," thereby being able to retain the words "toenail" and "(specific) rodent," but not being able to refer directly to the toenail of that rodent. The taboo is maintained even for the living: One mark of prestige is the courtesy others show you by not using your name. The sanctions behind the taboo seem to be an unusual combination of fear and respect.

114 123 124 601 551 I tried to use kinship terms to collect genealogies at first, but the kinship terms were so ambiguous that I ultimately had to resort to names. They were quick to grasp that I was bound to learn everybody's name and reacted, without my knowing it, by inventing false names for everybody in the village. After having spent several months collecting names and learning them, this came as a disappointment to me: I could not cross-check the genealogies with other informants from distant villages.

They enjoyed watching me learn these names. I assumed, wrongly, that I would 114
get the truth to each question and that I would get the best information by working in 123
public. This set the stage for converting a serious project into a farce. Each informant 124
tried to outdo his peers by inventing a name even more ridiculous than what I had been 551
given earlier, or by asserting that the individual about whom I inquired was married to his mother or daughter, and the like. I would have the informant whisper the name of the individual in my ear, noting that he was the father of such and such a child. Everybody would then insist that I repeat the name aloud, roaring in hysterics as I clumsily pronounced the name. I assumed that the laughter was in response to the violation of the name taboo or to my pronunciation. This was a reasonable interpretation, since the individual whose name I said aloud invariably became angry. After I learned what some of the names meant, I began to understand what the laughter was all about. A few of the more colorful examples are: "hairy vagina," "long penis," "feces of the harpy eagle," and "dirty rectum." No wonder the victims were angry.

I was forced to do my genealogy work in private because of the horseplay and 114
nonsense. Once I did so, my informants began to agree with each other and I managed 123
to learn a few new names, real names. I could then test any new informant by collecting 124
a genealogy from him that I knew to be accurate. I was able to weed out the more mischievous informants this way. Little by little I extended the genealogies and learned the real names. Still, I was unable to get the names of the dead and extend the genealogies back in time, and even my best informants continued to deceive me about their own close relatives. Most of them gave me the name of a living man as the father of some individual in order to avoid mentioning that the actual father was dead.

The quality of a genealogy depends in part on the number of generations it embraces, and the name taboo prevented me from getting any substantial information about deceased ancestors. Without this information, I could not detect marriage patterns through time. I had to rely on older informants for this information, but these were the most reluctant of all. As I became more proficient in the language and more skilled at detecting lies, my informants became better at lying. One of them in particular was so cunning and persuasive that I was shocked to discover that he had been inventing his information. He specialized in making a ceremony out of telling me false names. He would look around to make sure nobody was listening outside my hut, enjoin me to never mention the name again, act very nervous and spooky, and then grab me by the head to whisper the name very softly into my ear. I was always elated after an informant session with him, because I had several generations of dead ancestors for the living people. The others refused to give me this information. To show my gratitude, I paid him quadruple the rate I had given the others. When word got around that I had increased the pay, volunteers began pouring in to give me genealogies.

I discovered that the old man was lying quite by accident. A club fight broke 114
out in the village one day, the result of a dispute over the possession of a woman. She 123
had been promised to Rerebawä, a particularly aggressive young man who had married 124
into the village. Rerebawä had already been given her older sister and was enraged when 578
the younger girl began having an affair with another man in the village, making no at- 837
tempt to conceal it from him. He challenged the young man to a club fight, but was so abusive in his challenge that the opponent's father took offense and entered the village circle with his son, wielding a long club. Rerebawä swaggered out to the duel and

114 hurled insults at both of them, trying to goad them into striking him on the head with
123 their clubs. This would have given him the opportunity to strike them on the head. His
124 opponents refused to hit him, and the fight ended. Rerebawä had won a moral victory
578 because his opponents were afraid to hit him. Thereafter, he swaggered around and in-
839 sulted the two men behind their backs. He was genuinely angry with them, to the point of calling the older man by the name of his dead father. I quickly seized on this as an opportunity to collect an accurate genealogy and pumped him about his adversary's ancestors. Rerebawä had been particularly nasty to me up to this point, but we became staunch allies: We were both outsiders in the local village. I then asked about other dead ancestors and got immediate replies. He was angry with the whole group and not afraid to tell me the names of the dead. When I compared his version of the genealogies to that of the old man, it was obvious that one of them was lying. I challenged his information, and he explained that everybody knew that the old man was deceiving me and bragging about it in the village. The names the old man had given me were the dead ancestors of the members of a village so far away that he thought I would never have occasion to inquire about them. As it turned out, Rerebawä knew most of the people in that village and recognized the names.

114 I then went over the complete genealogical records with Rerebawä, genealogies I
124 had presumed to be in final form. I had to revise them all because of the numerous lies and falsifications they contained. Thus, after five months of almost constant work on the genealogies of just one group, I had to begin almost from scratch!

114 Discouraging as it was to start over, it was still the first real turning point in my
123 fieldwork. Thereafter, I began taking advantage of local arguments and animosities in
124 selecting my informants, and used more extensively individuals who had married into the group. I began traveling to other villages to check the genealogies, picking villages that were on strained terms with the people about whom I wanted information. I would then return to my base camp and check with local informants the accuracy of the new information. If the informants became angry when I mentioned the new names I acquired from the unfriendly group, I was almost certain that the information was accurate. For this kind of checking I had to use informants whose genealogies I knew rather well: they had to be distantly enough related to the dead person that they would not go into a rage when I mentioned the name, but not so remotely related that they would be uncertain of the accuracy of the information. Thus, I had to make a list of names that I dared not use in the presence of each and every informant. Despite the precautions, I occasionally hit a name that put the informant into a rage, such as that of a dead brother or sister that other informants had not reported. This always terminated the day's work with that informant, for he would be too touchy to continue any further, and I would be reluctant to take a chance on accidentally discovering another dead kinsman so soon after the first.

114 These were always unpleasant experiences, and occasionally dangerous ones, de-
123 pending on the temperament of the informant. On one occasion I was planning to visit
124 a village that had been raided about a week earlier. A woman whose name I had on my
551 list had been killed by the raiders. I planned to check each individual on the list one by one to estimate ages, and I wanted to remove her name so that I would not say it aloud in the village. I knew that I would be in considerable difficulty if I said this name aloud so soon after her death. I called on my original informant and asked him to tell

me the name of the woman who had been killed. He refused, explaining that she was a 114
close relative of his. I then asked him if he would become angry if I read off all the 123
names on the list. This way he did not have to say her name and could merely nod when 124
I mentioned the right one. He was a fairly good friend of mine, and I thought I could 551
predict his reaction. He assured me that this would be a good way of doing it. We were alone in my hut so that nobody could overhear us. I read the names softly, continuing to the next when he gave a negative reply. When I finally spoke the name of the dead woman he flew out of his chair, raised his arm to strike me, and shouted: "You son-of-a-bitch!* If you ever say that name again, I'll kill you!" He was shaking with rage, but left my hut quietly. I shudder to think what might have happened if I had said the name unknowingly in the woman's village. I had other, similar experiences in different villages, but luckily the dead person had been dead for some time and was not closely related to the individual into whose ear I whispered the name. I was merely cautioned to desist from saying any more names, lest I get people angry with me.

I had been working on the genealogies for nearly a year when another individual 114
came to my aid. It was Kąobawä, the headman of Upper Bisaasi-teri, the group in which 123
I spent most of my time. He visited me one day after the others had left the hut and 124
volunteered to help me on the genealogies. He was poor, he explained, and needed a machete. He would work only on the condition that I did not ask him about his own parents and other very close kinsmen who were dead. He also added that he would not lie to me as the others had done in the past. This was perhaps the most important single event in my fieldwork, for out of this meeting evolved a very warm friendship and a very profitable informant-fieldworker relationship.

Kąobawä's familiarity with his group's history and his candidness were remarkable. His knowledge of details was almost encyclopedic. More than that, he was enthusiastic and encouraged me to learn details that I might otherwise have ignored. If there were things he did not know intimately, he would advise me to wait until he could check things out with someone in the village. This he would do clandestinely, giving me a report the next day. As I was constrained by my part of the bargain to avoid discussing his close dead kinsmen, I had to rely on Rerebawä for this information. I got Rerebawä's genealogy from Kąobawä.

Once again I went over the genealogies with Kąobawä to recheck them, a considerable task by this time: they included about two thousand names, representing several generations of individuals from four different villages. Rerebawä's information was very accurate, and Kąobawä's contribution enabled me to trace the genealogies further back in time. Thus, after nearly a year of constant work on genealogies, Yąnomamö demography and social organization began to fall into a pattern. Only then could I see how kin groups formed and exchanged women with each other over time, and only then did the fissioning of larger villages into smaller ones show a distinct pattern. At this point I was able to begin formulating more intelligent questions because there was now some sort of pattern to work with. Without the help of Rerebawä and Kąobawä I could not have made very much sense of the plethora of details I had collected from dozens of other informants.

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*This is the closest English translation of his actual statement, the literal translation of which would be nonsensical in our language.

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Fig. 1-3. Kąobawä, the wise leader, listens to identify a strange noise in the jungle.

I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yąnomamö, if, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village. 114 123 124

Kąobawä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1-3). I say "about" because the Yąnomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Bisaasi-teri. He has had five or six wives so far and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bahimi and Koamashima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bahimi, his eldest and favorite wife. Koamashima, about 20 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1-4). Kąobawä may give Koamashima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kąobawä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was beshi: "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two 115 [802] [595] [837] [836]

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Fig. 2-7. Orasimi, Kąobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

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[829]
[184] nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kąobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[8] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kąobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yąnomamö.

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[101]
[14] [8] The Yąnomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xiriana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yąnomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "*Waika*," however, from the verb *waikaö*, is a Yąnomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yąnomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yąnomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yąnomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moon" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yąnomamö.

The *noreshi* animals are inherited patrilineally for men and matrilineally for women.[12] Kąobawä, for example, inherited 774 825 his *noreshi* animal, the black monkey, from his father and transmitted it to his son. All his male kinsmen have the black monkey as their *noreshi.* Bahimi, Kąobawä's wife, has the dog for her *noreshi* animal, as does her mother and her daughter by Kąobawä. The *noreshi* animal of a woman always travels on the ground below the animal of the husband.

Noreshi animals duplicate the behavior of the person to whom they correspond. When Kąobawä goes hunting, so does his *noreshi* animal. When he is sick, so is his *noreshi* animal. If he takes a journey of two days, the animal likewise travels an equal distance, and so forth.

The *noreshi* animal and the person to whom it corresponds are always in complementary distribution. That is, they never come close to each other, for if they should see each other, they would both die. Their mutual existences are coextensive and coterminous: One lives only as long as the other, and both die at precisely the same instant. If a hunter should shoot Kąobawä's *noreshi* animal and kill it, Kąobawä would also be [761] shot and would die. Similarly, if Kąobawä is shot by raiders and killed, his *noreshi* animal would suffer the same fate.

The soul aspect of the *noreshi,* however, can leave the human body at will and [753] wander. Sickness results when the *noreshi* has left the body; unless it is brought back soon, the person will die. The *noreshi* is the vulnerable portion of the complete being, the part that is the target of witchcraft and harmful magic. The shamans (*shaborí*) wage [756] constant war against the evil demons (*hekura*) of enemy groups who have been sent to capture the *noreshi* parts of children. They, in turn, send their own *hekura* to capture the *noreshi* of enemy children; the wars that take place between men who raid to kill are likewise carried over into the domain of the supernatural.

When sickness is deemed to be the result of soul loss, the people who are closely 774 related to the sick person hunt for his *noreshi.* I participated in one of these soul hunts. 755 Kąobawä's group had set up a temporary camp across the river from its main village 825 site, as they suspected raiders would attack them. While they were camped in their tem- [114] porary village, one of the children became ill, and her malady was thought to be caused by soul loss. When the threat of raiders passed, the temporary camp was abandoned and the group moved back into the main village.

The child's condition worsened, so a group of women and children returned to the temporary camp, suspecting that the *noreshi* had remained there. I went along and, with [114] the others, cut a branch from a shrub and began sweeping the site and calling for the *noreshi* to return. We swept the entire area and converged at one point. Everybody was convinced that the *noreshi* had been herded into this central point. We then lured the *noreshi* back across the river and into the body of the sick child.

The vulnerability of the *noreshi* to magical spells is best examplified by the fact 774 that the shamans of every village spend most of their time chanting to the *hekura* (de- 825 mons) with the intention of persuading them either to attack the *noreshi* of other (enemy) [756] children or to drive off the *hekura* sent by enemy shamans. Again, the Yąnomamö used [777] two of their concepts of the soul to describe photographs and tape recordings. They were [123] very hostile to me when I attempted to take photographs, especially of children, because [126]

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[12] The inheritance of these "alter-ego" animals has nothing to do with marriage rules and patrilineage exogamy.

611 the village, the members of which being related to each other as brother and sister, and
602 the fact that individuals must marry outside their own lineages.

582 The important features of the lineages X and Y are now clearly visible in genera-
613 tion II: The lineages are patrilineal and exogamous. That is, males and females belong to the lineage of their father (patrilineality), and individuals must marry people who belong to a different lineage (exogamy). This can be seen more clearly in the symbols
[601] used in Fig. 3-1. All males of lineage X are designated by triangles ($x_1, x_2, x_3 \ldots x_n$), and all females of lineage X are designated by hexagons. Similarly, all males of lineage Y are designated as squares and all females by circles. Males of lineage X marry females of lineage Y. Their children belong to lineage X because their *father* (patrilineality) is of lineage X.

601 The Yąnomamö kinship system also reflects the rules of lineage exogamy, brother-
sister exchange and reciprocity. Their kinship system is called the "bifurcate merging"
613 type with "Iroquois" cousin terms (see Glossary). Within each generation, all the males
582 of one lineage call each other "brother," and all the women call each other "sister." Males of lineage X call males of lineage Y "brother-in-law" and are eligible to marry their sisters. In fact, the males of lineage X call the females of lineage Y "wife" *whether or not they marry them.* This is likewise true for the males of lineage Y with respect to the females of lineage X. This brings us to another important Yąnomamö marriage rule: A male must marry a woman of the category called *suaböya*—"wife." This is called a *prescriptive* marriage rule.[2] To state it more precisely, Yąnomamö society is characterized by a rule that enjoins a man to marry a woman of a specific kinship category; he has no choice with respect to the category.

582 There is an important controversy over the meaning and implications of the term
114 "prescriptive." I have given the definition held by British anthropologists generally,
128 by Needham (1962*a*:9) in particular. This definition emphasizes the fact that men have no choice with respect to the category of women from which their wives must come, that men are forbidden to marry women of other categories, and that the society itself is said to be characterized by the prescriptive rule. The opposition to this definition comes largely from certain American anthropologists, who maintain that a society can only be said to have a prescriptive marriage rule when a high percentage (close to 100 percent) of the people marry according to the rule (see Coult and Hammel 1963:291). The issues involved are not quite as simple as this, but a glimmering of the area of contention can be seen in an example provided by Leach (1965). Rephrasing his example, the rule (in our society) "thou shalt not kill" is like the rule (among, say, the Yąnomamö) "thou shalt marry a woman of category A." These rules can be said to exist in the respective societies irrespective of the homocide rate in New York or the frequency of aberrant marriages in a Yąnomamö village. That is, Leach (and Needham) maintain that one cannot discover such a rule by counting examples of murder (or, rather, "non-murder") or marriages of men to women of category A. The more basic issue, however, is the

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[2] Professor Lévi-Strauss, who read an earlier draft of this chapter, quite correctly pointed out that to say a marriage system is "prescriptive" is to say no more than "a man must marry a marriageable female," which is a tautology. Nevertheless, we must have some way to distinguish a system that permits marriage with only a single category of women from those that permit marriage with women of several categories. By showing what is meant by the Yąnomamö category *suaböya*, as I have attempted to do in Fig. 3-2, the reader will gain some idea of what is meant by that marriage type. I have used the term "prescriptive" because it is the current usage.

meaning of, in this case, "category A." It is customary to represent primitive kinship 128
categories in models (for example, Fig. 3-1) by their closest biological equivalents in 114 •
our own kinship system. Many critics of Needham's definition of prescription fail to appre- 582
ciate the fact that *FaSiDa* and *MoBrDa* in a model like the one given in Fig. 3-1 represent
just *two* of several kinds of kinswomen who fall into the prescribed category. That is, they
interpret the native's kinship category from the narrow point of view of one of that
category's biological meanings in *our own kinship system*. (I have given ten examples of
actual Yąnomamö marriages in Fig. 3-2, discussed later, to illustrate what the categories
FaSiDa and MoBrDa mean to the Yąnomamö.) The use of Needham's definition of 128
prescription to characterize Yąnomamö marriage rules can be justified, therefore, on 582
several grounds. First, the Yąnomamö assert that a man must marry a woman of the 601
suaböya category. Second, of the six primary categories used by men to classify female 602
relatives, five of them embrace women who stand in incestuous relationship to the male
speaker, and he is forbidden to marry any woman that falls into any of these five additional categories. Third, we will see below how closely the alternative definition of prescription fits the Yąnomamö, using their own notions of kinship to reckon relationships between males and females.[3]

In Fig. 3-1, marriageable women are related to their husbands as both FaSiDa and MoBrDa; this is an artifact of the way in which the model is drawn. These two kinds of kinswomen are the closest biological equivalents in our kinship system for the Yąnomamö term "*suaböya*:" "wife." It must be emphasized, however, that given the classificatory nature of the Yąnomamö kinship system (for example, men of the same generation and of the same lineage are "brothers"), there are several ways to be related to a woman as "wife."

Something new has happened in generation III. A man (w$_1$) from a distant 128
village, along with his sister, has joined the group. Both he and his sister have married 582
into lineage X. Thus, there are three lineages represented in the village (W, X, and Y), 621*
and the *dual organization* characterizing generations I and II is now lost.[4] A Yąnomamö 613
village can incorporate new lineages into its social life by an extension of marriage ties to its members. As can be seen from Fig. 3-1, the same rules—exogamy, reciprocity, patrilineal descent, and brother-sister exchange—that characterize the behavior of the members of lineages X and Y also hold for the members of the new lineage, W. The incorporation of lineage W takes place this way. W$_1$ joined the village in 1928 (generation III) because x$_3$ and x$_4$ promised him one of their sisters. As shown in Fig. 3-1, he did, in fact, marry one of their sisters and gave, in exchange, one of his sisters to x$_3$.

This (potentially) brings about an important structural change in the village with

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[3] For an excellent summary of the various arguments concerning "perscriptive alliance," see Maybury-Lewis 1965a.

[4] A society is said to have dual organization when, for example, it is comprised of two intermarrying kinship groups, such as lineages X and Y in generations I and II of Fig. 3-1. In some societies the intermarrying kin groups are named, for example, "Bear Clan (or Moiety)" and "Thunderbird Clan (or Moiety)." The Yąnomamö do not have named kinship groups such as this. Dual organization is, however, implied in their kinship terminology and marriage rules and, as will be seen, villages tend to have two (and only two) politically dominant lineages that intermarry. In short, the Yąnomamö village tends to be comprised *in fact* of two dominant kinship groups but lacks some of the ideology, such as named pairs of intermarrying kin groups, of classical dual organization. See: Maybury-Lewis, 1960 and 1967; Lévi-Strauss, 1963, Chapter VIII; Nimuendajú and Lowie, 1927; and Malinowski, 1926, for further descriptions and analyses of societies having dual organization.

him to do a favor, whereas he could ask this of a brother-in-law.[6] As shall presently be 128
seen, the dynamics of Yąnomamö social organization originate in the politics of obtaining 613
a wife. Within this context, agnates are competitors and affines are allies. This has an 582
important effect on the manner in which villages fission and form new groups. The 602
point to remember at this juncture is that ties of marriage are in many cases stronger 607
than ties of blood.

I emphasize this because many anthropologists argue from "first principles" that 128
ties of blood are—by definition—more capable of promoting solidarity and amity than 114 •
ties by marriage. The controversy over "complementary filiation" between E. R. Leach 602
(1957) and M. Fortes (1959), still not satisfactorily resolved, was essentially a debate 613
about the analytical significance of marriage ties. Focusing on only one of the issues and 582
rephrasing the arguments so as to apply to Fig. 3–2, the debate ran something like this: Both Leach and Fortes seemed to agree that in societies having lineal descent groups (lineages), the descent groups would tend to fall apart unless some kind of tie bound the members to each other. That is, lineages X and Y of Fig. 3–2 would, in short, pull away from each other unless they were held together by some special social tie. Fortes argued that this special tie was the solidarity and amity that grew out of the cognatic (see Glossary) kinship ties between the two lineages which arise when individuals marry blood relatives. Looking at generation V, for example, Fortes would argue that lineages X and Y are bound to each other because x_8 and y_5 married women to whom they are related by blood (as FaSiDa and MoBrDa). He argues from first principles that solidarity emanates from the blood ties. Leach, however, states that in generation V the two lineages are bound to each other by obligations to reciprocate goods, services, and women and that the solidarity of the two lineages derives from the affinal ties themselves (shown as "15" and "16" in Fig. 3–2). If we look only at generation V, the argument cannot be resolved, since the data support both arguments equally well, or at least do not convincingly support one rather than the other. I might add that both arguments can be
supported by data not given in Fig. 3–2; Fortes' arguments are supported, for example, [606]
by the additional fact that Yąnomamö men do not stringently have to avoid their mothers-in-law when they are related to them in the fashion shown in Fig. 3–2, whereas the avoidance taboo is very onerous when a man's mother-in-law is not a blood relative.
If, however, attention is focused on the events of generation III and their consequences [621]*
examined, it can readily be seen that the affinal (marriage) ties in generation V are stronger than some of the agnatic (blood) ties, and the latter break when the village fissions. (This can be even more readily seen in Fig. 3–4 and 3–5, discussed later.) Thus, it cannot be argued that Yąnomamö lineage solidarity derives exclusively from blood ties and "complementary filiation." There is another issue. Structural analyses depend in large measure on a sharp distinction between marriage (affinal) ties and blood (consanguineal) ties. Fortes seems to deny that affinal ties as such exist independently of blood ties, and he has "subsumed" them into his concept of "complementary filiation." If there is no such thing as affinal ties between lineal descent groups, then structural

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

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[6] In addition, it is by no means rare for agnates to get into club fights over women. I even have recorded a number of cases of men shooting and killing a "brother" during raids. This happened on two occasions during my first stay in the field, and I have reports of several additional cases obtained from informants who were describing past raids. [578]

analysis of reciprocal marriage exchanges between such groups and the obligations im- 128
plied in such exchange is seriously hampered. In short, if Yąnomamö marriage exchanges 114
over a number of generations and the kinship basis of village fissioning are examined, 602
the data support Leach's arguments. They do not, however, invalidate Fortes' argument 613
that blood ties create some solidarity, but they do call into question the contention that 582
blood ties by definition, or, rather, on "first principles," account exclusively for the solidarity occurring between lineages.

In summary, Fig. 3-1 represents a number of important features of Yąnomamö 128
social organization. First, people reckon descent through males and are grouped into 611
exogamous, patrilineal lineages. These are called *mashi* by the Yąnomamö, although none 613
of them bear distinctive names.[7] Second, members of these lineages tend to intermarry 582
with the members of a second lineage over a number of generations, being bound to 621*
them by obligations to reciprocate women in marriage. This results in a dual organization of kinsmen within the village, whose residents fall into one or the other of the two lineages. Third, new lineages can be incorporated into the village by an extension of marriage ties, potentially bringing about "structural faults" within the lineages of that village. Fourth, men are obliged to marry a woman of a single, specific category, *suaböya*. This category defines a variety of women, two subcategories of which can be translated
into the English biological equivalents MoBrDa and FaSiDa. Yąnomamö men prefer to [606]
marry women of these subcategories because they are relieved of much of the discomfort of avoiding their mothers-in-law.[8]

The ten partial genealogies shown in Fig. 3-2 show how the Yąnomamö actually 128
marry. The genealogies have been selected with the intention of illustrating how the 582
Yąnomamö reckon relationships between kinsmen in general, and between husband and 602
wife in particular. All ten exemplify prescriptive marriage. They are more or less arranged [601]
in decreasing order of correspondence to our own biological concepts of kinship and illustrate the classificatory nature of their kinship system.

The people shown on these genealogies are (or were) real people. Many of the individuals in the examples are related to each other in such ways that all ten of the examples could be drawn as a single, unified genealogy.

The first eight examples are drawn from the village of Patanowä-teri; the last two are from Bisaasi-teri. In case J, for example, the fifth individual of the second generation is Kąobawä. To give a rough idea of the incompleteness of each genealogy, only one of Kąobawä's four marriages is shown and only one of his four children. None of his brothers and sisters are shown either, nor is the fact that he married a MoBrDa indicated.

Case A illustrates the identification procedure to be used in relating the geneal- 128
ogies to the text. There are three generations shown in case A; the first is symbolized by 582
the Roman numeral I, the second, by II, the third, by III. Each individual in each genera- 602
tion is given a number; the number series runs from left to right and begins anew with 1 in each generation. Hence, every individual bears a generation number and a position-within-generation number. Case A illustrates the marriage of individuals III-1 to III-2;

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

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[7] *Mashi* means "species," "group," "cluster of similar things," and, in the context of kinship, "that group of [601]
people to whom I am related through males;" that is, "patrilineal kinsmen."

[8] I draw attention to the fact that the category is *prescribed*, but within it there are *preferences*. There are very few analyses of societies that have a prescriptive rule within which there are preferences, although Needham has devoted some attention to this interesting phenomenon (1962*a*, 1962*b*, and 1963).

Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Kąobawä's group. All their other neighbors, allied 628*
to the victims of the treacherous feast, relentlessly raided them. They were, in short, 721
extremely dependent on Kąobawä's group and the two other villages related to Kąobawä's group.

Kąobawä and his followers have astutely finessed this situation in two ways. First, 628*
they have managed to coerce the two Shamatari villages into ceding women without 581
reciprocating an equal number of their own in return. The men who have obtained 583
Shamatari wives have, as well, managed to cut short their period of bride service in the Shamatari village. Conversely, Shamatari men who have been promised women of Kąobawä's group are pressed into very lengthy bride service, sometimes up to three years. Secondly, Kąobawä's group has prevented the two Shamatari allies from re-establishing 628*
friendly contacts with the other Shamatari to their southeast by chicane, threat, and 726
intimidation. One of the two Shamatari allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri, has attempted a 574
rapprochement with the Shamatari enemies of Kąobawä's group. In 1965, several months 527
after I had been living in Kąobawä's village, Kąobawä's group managed to stage another treacherous feast for the old enemies by taking advantage of the renewed ties between the Reyaboböwei-teri and the enemies. They learned that the Reyaboböwei-teri planned to invite one of the villages to a feast, so they, along with the Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Mǫ̈mariböwei-teri, went to the feast in order to ambush the guests. The Reyaboböwei-teri, however, were reluctant to go through with the plan and warned the visitors about it. The visitors were en route to the village when word of the treachery reached them. This had the effect of creating even more difficulties for the Reyaboböwei-teri, for it is highly unlikely that they will succeed in gaining the confidence of their neighbors to the southeast. Nevertheless, some visiting between the groups still continues.[17]

The historical relationships between the villages helps account for the reasons 628*
behind contemporary alliance patterns. The discrepancy between marriage rules and 581
actual marriage practice in Lower Bisaasi-teri is a result of the political advantages that 582
group enjoys over one of its allies. It has used this advantage to gain a favorable imbalanced marriage exchange pattern, but one that is only temporary. The Shamatari are also shrewd in their alliance practices, and have succeeded in neutralizing their disadvantages by capitalizing on schisms between Kąobawä's group and Lower Bisaasi-teri. This has been done largely by confining their marriage exchanges to important men in the dominant lineages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri. One of the Shamatari villages, Mǫ̈maribowei-teri, has restricted its exchanges to Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri, while completely ignoring Upper Bisaasi-teri. The other Shamatari village has given its women only to Upper Bisaasi-teri. This has resulted in the weakening of ties between the three villages of Upper Bisaasi-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Monou-teri, whose members are

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[17] I plan to use these visiting ties to establish contact with the Shamatari villages in that area, none of which 123
have had contact with outsiders. These uncontacted Shamatari, however, know who I am because I attempted 114
to reach them in 1965. They subsequently sent a message out urging me to visit them, angry because my guides forced me to turn back on my first attempt. In 1966 they even sent an old man to Kąobawä's village by way of Reyaboböwei-teri with an invitation for me to visit them. I had already left Venezuela by that time. Most of the men in the two contacted Shamatari villages tried to prevent me from going by telling horrible tales of the treachery that awaited my visit, describing how the Shamatari will kill me. The truth of the matter is that they know that I will bring the uncontacted Shamatari machetes and axes that might otherwise be given to them. The headman of one of the uncontacted villages has a brother in Mǫmariböwei-teri. He privately conceded that no harm would befall me and offered to take me to visit in 1967. He was, unfortunately, bitten by a snake just before I arrived in March of 1967, and my plans were deferred until 1968.

*628 interdependency. The Yąnomamö cannot simply arrive at the village of a potential ally
and declare that they need military assistance because of the raids of a superior enemy.
Doing so would admit vulnerability and perhaps invite predation from the potential
ally. Instead, they conceal and subsume the true motive for the alliance in the vehicles
[438] of *trading* and *feasting*, developing these institutions over months and even years. In this
[574] manner they retain an apparent modicum of sovereignty and pride, while simultaneously
attaining the true objectives: intervillage solidarity and military interdependence.

*628 Three distinct features of Yąnomamö trading practices are important in the context
438 of alliance formation. First, each item must be repaid with a different kind of item: The
574 recipient is under an *obligation* to repay his partner in a type of exchange called *no mraiba*.
[437] Secondly, the payment is delayed, a temporal factor in the trading techniques that is
likewise implied by the *no mraiba*. The consequence of these two trading features is that
one trade always calls forth another and gives the members of different villages both the
excuse and the opportunity to visit each other; and once the trading starts, it tends to
continue, for one village in an alliance always owes the other trade goods from their last
confrontation. The third significant trade feature is the peculiar specialization in the
production of trade items. Each village has one or more special products that it provides
to its allies. These include such items as dogs, hallucinogenic drugs (both cultivated and
collected), arrow points, arrow shafts, bows, cotton yarn, cotton and vine hammocks,
baskets of several varieties, clay pots, and, in the case of the several contacted villages,
steel tools and aluminum pots.

This specialization in production cannot be explained in terms of the distribution
of natural resources. Each village is, economically speaking, capable of self-sufficiency.
[177] (The steel tools and other products from civilization consitute the major exceptions.)
The explanation of the specialization must be sought, rather, in the sociological aspects
of alliance formation. Trade functions as the social catalyst, the "starting mechanism,"
through which mutually suspicious allies are repeatedly brought together in direct confrontation.
Without these frequent contacts with neighbors, alliances would be much
slower in formation and would be even more unstable once formed: A prerequisite to
stable alliance is repetitive visiting and feasting, and the trading mechanism serves to
bring about these visits.

*628 Clay pots are a good example of the specialization in labor that characterizes
438 Yąnomamö production and trade. The Mǫmariböwei-teri (see map, Fig. 2-8) are allied
323 to both Kąobawä's group and the people of a distant Shamatari village, the latter being
mortal enemies of Kąobawä. When I first began my fieldwork, I visited the
[114] Mǫmariböwei-teri, specifically asking them if they knew how to make clay pots. They all
[124] vigorously denied knowledge of pot-making, explaining that they once knew how to make
them but had long since forgotten. They explained that their allies, the Möwaraoba-teri,
made them in quantities and provided all they needed, and therefore they did not have
to make them anymore. They also added that the clay in the area of their village was not
of the proper type for making pots. Later in the year their alliance with the pot makers
grew cool because of a war, and their source of pots was shut off. At the same time,
Kąobawä's group began asking them for clay pots. The Mǫmariböwei-teri promptly
responded by "remembering" how pots were made and "discovering" that the clay in
their neighborhood was indeed suitable for pot manufacturing. They had merely created

*628 594 undertake it if it meant getting rid of their first group of visitors, who, by this time, had spent nearly a week eating Kąobawä's produce.

[824] [415] [252] On the morning of the feast three large pieces of bark from the *ariwari* tree were cut and brought to the village. These were made into troughs to contain the boiled, ripe plantain soup. All day long Kąobawä's younger brothers, who had returned from the hunt the day before, labored at cooking the enormous quantity of ripe plantains, pouring each boiling containerful into the trough as it was prepared.[3]

[251] [252] The plantains that Kąobawä had hung in his *shabono* roof a week before were now ripe. The young men who were preparing the soup would cut the bunches of plantains from the roof, split each fruit with their thumb, throw the two halves of the flesh into a cooking pot, and toss the skins onto a pile. They worked at this task from early morning until late afternoon, in addition to boiling a nearly equal quantity of green plantains, which provided the green vegetable food that customarily accompanies the presentation [264] of meat. Yąnomamö etiquette dictates that meat must be accompanied by vegetable food and vice versa.[4] It is an insult, for example, to offer someone meat without simultaneously offering a vegetable food with it. Peeling green plantains is a little more difficult [252] than peeling ripe ones, which are very tough and brittle. The Yąnomamö solve this problem, like they solve so many others, by using their teeth. Each plantain is bitten along its length several times, cracking the peel, which in turn is removed with the fingernails and further application of the dentition. On this particular occasion, two young men peeled, with their thumbs, enough ripe plantains to make approximately 95 gallons of soup, and, with their teeth, a sufficiently large quantity of green plantains to fill a dozen large pack-baskets.

[622] [351] In the morning on the day of the feast, Kąobawä went to the center of the village clearing where all could see him and proceeded to pull weeds. The clearing has to look presentable to the visitors, as it functions as the dancing plaza. As noted before, since Yąnomamö headmen cannot directly order their followers to execute tasks such as these, they usually initiate them and hope that others will follow. By and by, a number of older men joined him, as well as a few women, and when a sufficient number of workers were pulling weeds and hauling them out, Kąobawä quietly retired to his hammock, from which he oversaw the food preparations and calculated the distribution of meat.

Excitement in the village grew conspicuously as the hours passed, and by noon there was a constant din of laughter and chatter, punctuated now and then with a shrill scream from some young man overcome with the thrill of the feast. Occasionally, the visitors would reply to the shouts, setting off a brief contest of screaming between hosts

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[415] [177] [3] Kąobawä's group has access to aluminum pots now and uses them extensively in food preparations. Most Yąnomamö groups still use crude clay pots, although these are being rapidly replaced by aluminum ware, which is traded inland to the more remote villages.

[262] [114] [4] The three vegetable foods considered to be suitable accompaniments for the meat presentation are: boiled green plantains, boiled *rasha* fruit, and cassava bread. A number of missionaries and a few scientific observers have identified the Yąnomamö feast strongly with the *rasha* fruit (Zerries 1955; de Barandiaran 1966). If it is to be identified with any food, it should be called the "plantain feast," but to identify the feast with a food that sometimes (*rasha*) or invariably (plantains) accompanies it is to overlook the sociopolitical causes of the feast. *Rasha* is so unnecessary to the feast that it was served at only two of six feasts I attended. In short, the Yąnomamö feast is a social and political event, not a harvest ceremony, and occurs independently of the abundance or availability of *rasha* fruit. *Rasha* fruit ripens in February, the peak of the dry season. It is only in the dry season that feasts can be held, because travel is difficult or impossible at other times of the year. The correlation of the ripening of *rasha* and feasting is rather more fortuitous than causal.

they were about to release their arrows point-blank at Kąobawä's attackers, but when he 628*
and his aides turned them back, the crisis was over. The leaders of the visiting group re- 578
joined the other men, some of whom had picked up glowing brands of firewood, and they backed out of the village, weapons still drawn, their way illuminated by those who were waving the brands.[7]

Kąobawä's group took no further action in this affair and was not invited to feast at Mahekodo-teri. Later in the year, their relationships worsened because of a club fight in yet another village, and for a while both groups threatened to shoot each other on
sight. A temporary rapprochement developed after the club fight, when a group of raiders
from Kąobawä's group met a group of hunters from Mahekodo-teri while en route to [726]
attack the village of one of their enemies. The men from both villages traded with each [4-38]
other and departed on friendly terms, the raiders abandoning their raid and returning to
their village lest they be later ambushed on the way home by the Mahekodo-teri. They are presently on trading terms with each other, but their relationship is still somewhat strained and potentially hostile.

In general, feasts are exciting for both the hosts and the guests and contribute to 628*
their mutual solidarity. Under normal circumstances, allies that customarily feast with 574
each other do not fight. Nevertheless, even the best allies occasionally agree beforehand 578
to terminate their feast with a chest-pounding duel, thereby demonstrating to each other 182
that they are friends, but capable of maintaining their sovereignty and willing to fight if
necessary (Fig. 4-4). Kąobawä's group had a chest-pounding duel with one of its staunch-
est allies in 1966, as each had heard that the other was spreading rumors that it was
cowardly. Of the six feasts I witnessed during the nineteen months I spent with the [114]
Yąnomamö, two of them ended in fighting.

Any Yąnomamö feast can potentially end in violence because of the nature of the attitudes the participants hold regarding canons of behavior and obligations to display ferocity.

Still, the feast and its attendant trade serve to reduce the possibility of neighbors fighting with each other at a more serious level of violence, and they contribute to inter-village solidarity and mutual interdependence.

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[7] At this time, I was crouched in the house behind the line of bowmen, trembling in my boots. [723]

Although few raids are initiated solely with the intention of capturing women, 721
this is always a desired side benefit. A few wars, however, are started with the intention 726
of abducting women. I visited a village in Brazil in 1967 that had a critical shortage of 562
women. A group of missionaries had moved into this village a few years earlier and [797]
learned of the treachery by which the group managed to obtain a number of their women.
One of them gave me this account. The headman of the group organized a raiding party
to abduct women from a distant group. They went there and told these people that they
had machetes and cooking pots from the foreigners, who prayed to a spirit that gave
such items in answer to the prayers. They then volunteered to teach these people how to
pray. When the men knelt down and bowed their heads, the raiders attacked them with
their machetes and killed them. They captured their women and fled.

Treachery of this kind, the *nomohori*, is the ultimate form of violence. Kąobawä's group suffered a massacre in 1950, as I have mentioned earlier, but the treachery in this case was in revenge for a murder. Still, their assailants attempted to abduct women after the objectives of their treachery were accomplished. Had it not been for their greed to capture women, the massacre would have been even more complete. Many escaped because the assailants turned their attention to the women.

Generally, however, the desire to abduct women does not lead to the initiation of 721
hostilities between groups that have had no history of mutual raiding in the past. New 754
wars usually develop when charges of sorcery are leveled against the members of a different group. Once raiding has begun between two villages, however, the raiders all hope 726
to acquire women if the circumstances are such that they can flee without being dis- 562
covered. If they catch a man and his wife at some distance from the village, they will more 727
than likely take the woman after they kill her husband. If, however, the raiders are near
the village, they may flee without dragging a captured woman along, as the body of their
victim will be discovered quickly and pursuit will be immediate. Hence, they do not take
a chance on hindering their flight by dragging a reluctant captive with them. A captured 727
woman is raped by all the men in the raiding party and, later, by the men in the village 562
who wish to do so but did not participate in the raid. She is then given to one of the men [602]
as a wife. If the captured woman is related to her captors, she is not raped.

Most wars are merely a prolongation of earlier hostilities, stimulated by revenge 721
motives. The first causes of hostilities are usually sorcery, murders, or club fights over
women in which someone is badly injured or killed. Occasionally, food theft involving
related villages also precipitates raiding. This was the cause of the first raids between
Kąobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri; they split from each other after a series of club
fights over women. Each group made a new garden and returned periodically to the old [245]
one to collect peach-palm fruit, a crop that continues to produce long after the garden
itself has gone to weeds. Someone stole the peach-palm fruit belonging to a man in the [685]
other group, resulting in another food theft for revenge, a club fight, and then raiding,
but it should be pointed out that the raiding came about only after a long history of disputes between the groups; food theft was merely the catalyst that finally initiated the
hostilities.

The Yąnomamö themselves regard fights over women as the primary causes of 721
their wars. I was in one of the more remote villages in 1967, visiting with people I had [562]
met on my first field trip. The headman of the village, Säsäwä, coveted my British com- [114]
mando knife and kept begging me to give it to him. He wanted me to tell him all about [124]
the knife, its origin, history, and how often it had been exchanged in trades. When I told

was killed in the incident. Manasinawä, his wife, and his daughter remained with 621* 628*
Kąobawä's group, and he ultimately gave the daughter to Kąobawä for a second wife. 726
Kąobawä still has her.

At this time, the groups, of Damowä and Kąobawä, respectively, were still at war 628*
with the Patanowä-teri, from whom they separated some fifteen years earlier. Damowä's 726
group, after separating from Kąobawä's, attempted to make peace with the Patanowä- [728]
teri, as they were now vulnerable and could ill afford to remain on hostile terms with them. Damowä's group also made an alliance with the two Shamatari villages, which had given them cooperation when they staged the revenge treacherous feast discussed in the last chapter. For about five years relationships between Damowä's group and the Patanowä-teri were relatively amicable, but as the former's alliances with the Shamatari grew in strength, their relationship to the Patanowä-teri grew cool once again.

The Patanowä-teri then became embroiled in new wars with several villages on the Orinoco River and turned to Kąobawä's group for aid, hoping to patch up their old grievances and remain at peace. The first day I began my fieldwork marked the initiation 628*
of complete peace between Kąobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri: They were having 728
a feast together in Bisaasi-teri. Damowä's group, the Monou-teri, were not participating [114]
in the feast, but a large number of men came anyway. They discovered a group of seven 628*
Patanowä-teri females outside the main village and could not resist the temptation: They 562
forcefully took them back to Monou-teri. Later that day the Patanowä-teri men dis- 721
covered that the women were missing, so they searched the neighborhood and found the tracks of the Monou-teri men at the site of the abduction, where signs of struggling abounded. The next morning they went to Monou-teri armed with clubs: They were bound to get their women back, but did not care to start another shooting war with the Monou-teri. They took five of the women away from the Monou-teri in a heated struggle, but had to pull back without the remaining two, unless they were willing to shoot to kill: The Monou-teri were determined to keep the other women at all costs.

The significance of this incident is this: The headman of Monou-teri realized that the Patanowä-teri would not risk getting into a shooting war with them since they already had more enemies than they could comfortably handle. Hence, this provided an excellent opportunity for the Monou-teri to abduct women with relatively little chance of getting shot in retaliation.

Damowä, the headman of Monou-teri, was angry because the Patanowä-teri had recovered so many of their women. He then threatened to ambush the Patanowä-teri when they left for home after the feast at Bisaasi-teri was over. The Patanowä-teri, in view of this, cut their stay short and left for home before the feast was over, hoping to avoid trouble with the Monou-teri.

Damowä was not satisfied, however, that he forced the Patanowä-teri to capitulate, 726
leave for home, and not attempt to recover the two remaining women. He decided to raid them. In January of 1966 he and a party of men from Monou-teri raided the Patanowä-teri at the latter's village. They caught Bosibrei climbing a *rasha* tree, a prickly, cultivated palm that must be climbed slowly and with the aid of a pair of moveable stick frames in order to avoid getting pierced by the needle-sharp thorns that protrude from the tree's trunk (see Fig. 2-6). Bosibrei was almost to the top of the tree when the raiders caught him—he made an excellent target silhouetted against the sky. They shot and killed him with one volley of arrows as he reached for the fruits of the palm. One of

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Fig. 5-4. Blowing drugs (ebene) on the pulverized bones of Damowä, slain Monou-teri headman.

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located the enemy, but Paruriwä refused to go any farther. When he turned back, so did the entire party.

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The Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri raided against the Patanowä-teri six times while I lived with them, and each time the preparations for the raid closely followed the description given above. The Monou-teri returned to their producing site only when the jungle was inundated; only at that time could they raid without the support of their allies. The remainder of the year they had to take refuge with members of allied villages or expose themselves to the risk of being attacked by superior forces by remaining in their own producing garden.

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The Monou-teri also raided the Patanowä-teri without aid from their allies. One of the raids was conducted near the end of the rainy season, and I was staying in their village at the time the raid was held.

[765]

A special ceremony took place the day before the raid. The gourds containing the ashes of the slain Damowä were put on the ground in front of his brother's house.

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Bari SS13

/25 cont./

[illegible] know of several cases. Neither do we deny proven and concrete cases of attacks by the Indians on Creoles; we have certain proof of several. But, does not this same thing also occur among us in every city, town, or village?

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53. In particular there is talk of the untamable wildness of the Sirianá of the Paragua River and of the Motilón of the Zulia. As for the former, there is no doubt whatsoever that such butchers do not exist, as we were able to prove in the expedition made in the year 1940 and we reported this in an article published in the Boletín de la Sociedad Venezolana de Ciencias Naturales, Volume VIII, No. 53, to which we refer now.

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As for the latter, what is certain is that they have trade relations with the Indians of the Tukuku River, with which statement at least half of the legend is destroyed, that part
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which says that the Motilón did not permit even dealing with or the approach of other tribes. And regarding their hate of Creoles and their aggressiveness, I refer to the judgment of Mr. Gsell, quoted by A. Jahn in his book, Los Aborígines del Occidente de Venezuela /The Aborigines of Western Venezuela/, page 99, where he says: "As for the temperament of the Motilón, Gsell's opinion is that he does not consider them dangerous whilst they have not been molested by the Creoles; so that their hostility towards the whites is always motivated by a spirit of revenge."

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He himself says: "Creole peons are too cowardly and imprudent to be able to enter into dealings with the Motilón and when they have had the fortune to run across a plantation of yucca and plantain trees, made by the Indians, they pull up the tubers and cut the ripe fruit, in this way provoking
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their ire." While holding the same ideas as Mr. Gsell, we can add that, as we well know from the not short time spent living among the Indians and the not narrow circle of our observations, the abuses he denounces are the least; other much more important ones, which it is not necessary to name, have caused and do cause reprisal; and what is remarkable is